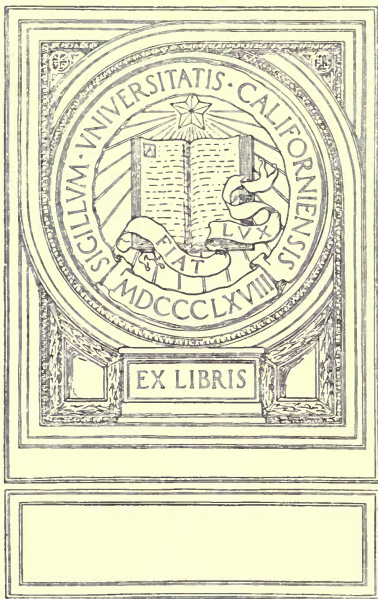


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



L E T T E R

TO THE HONORABLE

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF

QUEENSLAND

AND THE DISTRICT OF

NEWCASTLE

AND THE DISTRICT OF

SYDNEY

AND THE DISTRICT OF

MELBOURNE

AND THE DISTRICT OF

BRISBANE

AND THE DISTRICT OF

PERTH

AND THE DISTRICT OF

ADAMANT

AND THE DISTRICT OF

GLASGOW

AND THE DISTRICT OF

EDINBURGH

A
L E T T E R
O F
C L A U D I O T O L O M E I,
Translated from the ITALIAN.

In which he examines the

Q U E S T I O N,

*Whether a PRINCE should in Policy punish his
MAGISTRATES and MINISTERS, who against
the Duty of their Office have injured the People,
or rather to cover and conceal their Crimes, and
by some secret Way or other put a Stop to them.*

W I T H

Historical NOTES, and Political REFLECTIONS.



9682

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. M.DCC.XXXIX.



TO THE
READER.



THE Italian Original of the following Letter is to be read in the printed Collection of Claudio Tolomei's Letters. It is the first of the fourth Book. The Importance of the Question herein examined is such, that it deserves the particular Attention of a PRINCE. It is his chief Interest not to take a wrong Step in so
a 2 *delicate*

delicate an Affair, which concerns his own Preservation as well as the Welfare of his People. The Manner how the Question is handled is so judicious and agreeable, that it cannot but instruct and delight the Reader at the same time ; who may easily by it perceive the Author's Character, that he was a fine Gentleman, a polite Scholar, and well acquainted with the World.

CLAUDIO TOLOMEI was one of those great Genii, that Italy produced in the sixteenth Century. The golden Age of that Nation in Respect both to all Sorts of Learning, and liberal Arts. He was a Native of Siena, of a noble and ancient Family. His Knowledge was not confined to any Profession. He was Master of three noble Languages, Greek, Latin, and Italian, an eloquent Orator, most elegant Poet, a
good

good Philosopher, and an excellent Lawyer. He passed the best Part of his Life at Rome, employed in public Affairs, and in the Service of his Country. Fortune was not favourable enough to his Merit, having raised him to no higher Dignity, than to that of a Bishopric: But he was recompensed with the Reputation and Fame he got by his Learning and Manner of Writing; which have rendered his Name glorious among the best Italian Writers (a). Thus much of this great Man for the Present. A full Account of his Life the Public may expect at another Time.

How hard a Task it is to make an exact Translation, is too well

(a) Ghilini *Teatro d'Uomini Letterati*, Vol. 1. pag. 39.
 Crescimbeni *Historia della volgar Poesia*. l. 2. n. 30.

known by those, who have ever tried it, and are capable of judging of the different Genius and Beauty of Languages ; and in particular of the Italian and English. The Translator was sensible of the Difficulty ; and therefore he did not presume so much on his Ability as to attempt to come up to the Original. His particular Intent and Care has been only to express the Sense of the Author in the best Manner he could.

To the Translation he has added Historical Notes, which he thought necessary for the better Understanding of those Facts, and Characters of Persons therein occasionally mentioned. He has examined them both, in order to clear what his Author says, and to confirm Truth, which is the Soul of History. With them he has joined such Political Reflections, as they occurred to his Mind

Mind in the drawing up the Historical Notes : Being of Opinion, that proper Reflections, and especially Political ought to be the main Profit of reading History ; For by the Motives of human Actions we know what Men are, and by the Conduct of others we may take an Example for our own Instruction.

Should this Piece meet with the Approbation of the Public, it would be a great Encouragement to the Translator to go on with another Letter (tho' imperfect) of the same Author, relating to a Question no less important, than the present. viz. Whether a Prince should punish those, who speak ill of him.



E R R A T A.

- P**AGE 27. for *Copyists* read *Copistes*.
Page 34. *the Cardinals* r. *the major Part of the Cardinals*.
Page 35. *Credidttur* r. *Creditur*.
Possessones r. *Possessiones*.
Page 40. *of Templars* r. *of the Templars*.
In the Note (*p*) *Dupin* r. *Dupuy*.
Page 69. In the Note (*i*) *quelem* r. *qualem*.
Page 73. *Licentiousnence* r. *Licentiousness*.
an r. *and*.
Page 75. In the Note (*k*) *am* r. *jam*.
Page 118. *at Cilicia* r. *in Cilicia*,
Page 133. *in or* r. *in order*.



CLAUDIO



CLAUDIO TOLOMEI

T O

M. ANTON FRANCESCO

SANTI, of TRIEVI. ‡



Could not answer your Letter of the 11th of *September* before this Time, for the very Day I received it I was obliged to ride out to *Tivoli*, partly because I was engaged with some Gentlemen, and partly too for my own Diversion. From thence afterwards we went rambling about several little Towns, now seeing one Thing, now another, wherever we heard there was any Remains of those ancient wonderful Buildings. After ten Days I came back, and perused your Letter again, and considering the Questions you ask my Sentiment upon, I have not been sufficiently able to give you

‡ *Trievi* the same with *Trevi*, as it is commonly called by the Geographers. There are two Boroughs of that Name, both in the Ecclesiastical State; one in *Umbria*, or Dutchy of *Spoletto*, formerly an Episcopal Town, the other in the *Campagne* of *Rome*, upon the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*; which of the two is meant here I can't determine.

an Answer to them all at once. I shall therefore for the present answer only to the first Article, which highly deserves to be examined, and, when well resolved, will be of the greatest Advantage. And since, as I think, our present Times make the Subject more important, and of greater Consideration, I will therefore endeavour to treat of it at large ; in doing which, if perchance I should, from the plain and low Stile of Letters, rise to that of a Discourse, I beg you'll forgive me; the Importance of the Subject, the Probabilities that appear on different Sides, and my Desire of resolving the Question well and rightly, prompt and engage me to be perhaps longer than you would wish for ; but, I believe, that neither Time, nor Labour, nor Words will be lost, provided Truth be known.

The Doubt then, which in the first Place you propose to me, is this. *Whether a Prince, finding out a Magistrate or Minister to have done many Acts of Injustice, should publicly and severely punish him, or whether it be better to keep them, as much as possible, concealed, and by some secret Way or other apply a Remedy to prevent them.* This Article, by the Tenour and Disposition of the Laws, needs no Discussion ; for the Laws require that he should not only undergo a public Punishment, but farther, that he should be more
I. severely punished than others. † And indeed,

indeed, if private Men, for their Crimes, deserve an heavy Punishment, how much the more should those Persons deserve it, who are placed in that Station, to deter others from doing Wrong? And if the Prince, by raising them to high Places and Offices, put Justice and his Honour in their Hands, of what Punishment are they not deserving, who by their wicked Actions offend both God and the Prince, and with them the People too? But since in our Days there are some People, who being led into Mistakes, by I know not what Show of Reasons, say, That it does not become a wise Prince to expose, and render infamous his Magistrates and Ministers by making public their ill and unjust Actions, but to be more prudent to conceal them; I thought therefore, in order that this Point might be better understood, to treat of it fully and distinctly.

They that maintain it to be not a prudent Way to punish, and render them infamous, alledge this Reason chiefly for it. That among the first Supporters of a Prince are to be reckoned the Magistrates and Ministers; and among the Things, that give Repute to a Magistrate or Minister, are the Trust the People put in him, and the Opinion of his being good and just. It is this Trust and Opinion of the Magistrate's Uprightness and Integrity, that makes him to be look'd upon as a sacred Thing; and by that Means the Prince's Esteem also among his People be-

comes greater ; whereas, on the other Hand, whenever 'tis discovered that the Magistrate commits Injustice and Wickedness, the People have no more Confidence in him, and will hate and despise him, which consequently will diminish the Prince's Greatness and Reputation. * The having made public the base and scandalous Actions of *Appius Claudius Regillanus*, was the Cause both of his Ruin, and the Abolition of the *Decemvirat*, and gave Occasion to change the Government into another Form. † From this Consideration, I suppose, Pope *Leo X.* was induced not to make a public Example of an Auditor of the *Rota*, as he would have done, had he not thought that the Repute and Dignity of that Office would have been lessened, by making public that it was served by bad and wicked Ministers ; ‡ considering particularly, that in our Age the Affairs and Government of *Rome* is more supported by the Shadow of a good Fame, than by the Strength and Force of Power. They add to this, That those Magistrates or Ministers having been chosen by the Prince, if they afterwards should be exposed to the People as infamous Rogues, the Prince also would be exposed for want of Judgment, in chusing them for such Posts, which can't but injure his Credit very much. And if there are Instances of Sovereigns, who have punish'd even one who did not deserve it, and this for no other Reason, but to save the

the Appearance of not having been mistaken in their Judgment in charging him with Crimes he was innocent of, * as *Tiberius* did with his Friend of *Rhodus* ; if so, I say, how much more reasonable is it not to punish one who deserves it, that the Prince might not expose his own want of Understanding, in having first approved him as a good and fit Person for that Employment ?

v.

Besides this Consideration, a Prince who proceeds so far, as to punish severely his own Ministers and Magistrates, will easily fall under the Denomination of a cruel Man, because if he is so cruel against his own, what can it not be thought and believed he'll be against those that are Strangers ? From whence he'll fall into Infamy and Danger. Into Infamy, because Cruelty is so much abhorred in every Man whomsoever, as may be seen in *Sylla*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Maximin*, and many others. Into Danger, † as it happen'd to *Alexander* the Great after his coming back to *Babylon* from *India*, who, for being too cruel against his Ministers on the many Complaints of the People, ‡ was poison'd by *Antipater*, employing his Son *Iolas* to execute it * which he did for fear his wicked Actions should meet with the same Punishment which many others had met with.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

Lastly they say, That a Prince, who shews too much Cruelty towards his Magistrates or Ministers, gives Reason to doubt,
and

IX. and believe, that he does it rather to get their Estate, than for any other Motive; and so that he is rather moved and incited to it by Avarice than Justice, * as it was believed and publickly reported of *Philip* King of *France*, who abolished the Order of the *Templars*, that he did it to get their Riches, and that those poor Wretches were innocent, and had committed no Crime at all.

X. * In the like Manner also, was *Vespasian* blamed for raising to Posts and Offices the most rapacious Commissaries he could know of, that he might afterwards, when grown rich by their dishonest Ways and Means, punish them, and squeeze them like a Sponge; taking away from them all they had got by Rapaciousness and Extortion. * This Reflection moved the old

XI. *Romans*, under the Government of that good Republic, after having subdued *Macedonia*, not to make War against the *Rhodians*, tho' they had good Reason for it, lest it should be thought (the *Rhodians* being a wealthy People) they had done it rather for the Desire of their Riches, than for the sake of Vengeance.

These apparent Reasons have cast, as it were, a Mist before the Eyes of many, as not to let them see and distinguish the Light of Truth; therefore I thought to do my Endeavour to make it clear, by dispersing the Cloud that overshadowed it. I

XII. say therefore, * since the most severe Laws have

have been made by the Ancients against the Wickedness and Injustice of Magistrates, that Prudence, in this, as in other Cases (to use the Expression) gives a Relish to all Virtues, and is the Mother of all good Actions. And so much as the Law relates to Things of greater Weight and Importance, so much it ought to be supposed, that it was made with greater Prudence. To what Purpose then is the Law so religiously made, if for private Respects the Execution of it is hindered? I'll not attempt here to examine of what Moment is to all Republics and Sovereignities, either the Preservation or the Corruption of the Laws; this having already been fully demonstrated by ancient Philosophers, and many learned Men in several Places of their Works. This Consideration alone might be sufficient to make every Prince sensible of the Observation of the Laws. For as the Soul gives Life to the Body, so the Laws give Life to Cities and Governments; and as when the Soul is departed, the Body falls into Corruption, so when the Laws are neglected and not observed, all the Good and Welfare of Civil Life is thrown into Confusion and destroyed. From this Cause *Chilon*, one of the Seven Wise Men of *Greece*, prudently said, That the happiest City would be that, in which the Laws, well instituted, were kept and observed.

Besides,

Besides, I say, that if a private Man, who does not act according to, but disobey the Laws, ought to be punished, how much more deserves he to be so, who is placed in that Station for the Care and Guard of the Laws? For as Men of such a Rank expect a greater Reward for their good Actions, so they deserve a greater Punishment for their ill ones.

But to proceed further. Who does not see, that by punishing them, the Honour and Dignity of their Office is preserved; and, on the contrary, by not punishing them, is corrupted? Because if the Prince punishes them, the People then, and all the World, is convinced that he is very just, and punishes the Great as well as the Meanest when they do Wrong, doing Justice to them equally, according to their Desert; and that he will not support unjust and rapacious Persons in Places of Honour and Importance, but whenever any such a one is discovered to be there, he severely punishes him.

From this follow many good Effects. In the first Place, the Prince is look'd upon to be very just, which Thing, every body knows, what great Credit it gives to a Prince, who is willing to keep an equal Justice with all, according to their Desert. In this, as in many other Particulars, the Prince shews himself the Image of God. And besides, that in punishing a Magistrate,

others, for fear of the like Punishment, dare not to transgress the Laws. From whence that Office will be well administred, and rise to a greater Repute and Honour. And indeed one of the great Effects that Punishment produces, is that it makes those to be good who don't undergo and feel it, but fear it only. * *William* King of *Sicily*, XIII.
 surnamed, *The Good*, finding one of his Ministers had done some Villanies and Injustice, put him to Death; and, having flead him, spread the Skin on the Judgment-Seat, where, when alive, he had presided. Afterwards he promoted the Son to the same Office. This Example struck all the Judges with such a Terror, that for a great while no Complaint of any Injustice was heard of. The same had been formerly done by a King of *Persia*. * *Aurelian* was a very XIV.
 great Emperor, and one of them, who by his virtuous Actions gave Reputation to the Empire; yet he always punish'd most severely all those of his Ministers and Officers, that were guilty of any Fault; being of Opinion (as certain it is) that the nearer the Evil is, the more it wants a speedy Remedy. That Saying of *Solon* is very true, That Cities and Sovereignties can't be preserved without Punishment and Reward; two Things, which *Democritus* was wont to call the two Gods of Government. On the other Hand, if a Prince does not punish them, to prevent an ill Opinion and Report

of that Office or Magistracy, then the Ministers become unjust, insolent, rapacious; because they have no fear of being punish'd, thinking themselves to be sacred and inviolable, and having almost an Assurance, that the Prince, not to discredit the Place, will never punish their Crimes.

Let it be further observed, that the Wickedness and Injustice of the Magistrates and Ministers are always told, tho' not believ'd by all; for it is impossible they should be so secretly committed, as not to be known by somebody or other, and especially by those that suffer by their Rapacity. And because Pain does naturally make People cry out, they must consequently cry aloud; so that by Degrees the Wickedness of the Magistrates comes to be openly known and believed. If therefore they see that the Prince does not punish them, he'll be looked upon either as silly and weak, because he does not know how to punish; or as bad and wicked, because he will not punish them. From whence it follows, that he'll be either had in Contempt, or hated by the People; both which are the Poisons of every Sovereignty. He'll be had in Contempt, for Men judge that Prince to be good for nothing, from his not knowing how to redress such a Disorder, that so deeply stains his Honour; and every one soon begins to have but little Regard for him, and think how they may also either cheat, or force him to comply

comply with their Will; * as we read of that King of *Cyprus*, whose Neglect in punishing the Injuries, that one Subject did to another, began to embolden every one to injure him too, for which he was entirely despised. And the Prince will be hated, as I said, because from his being not ignorant of the Injustice and Rapacity of the Magistrates and Ministers, and yet not punishing them, many imagine him to be the Author, and have a Share in it. For how could he bear them, was it otherwise? It was very shameful what * the Emperor *Nero* did always say to his new Governors of the Provinces, viz. *You know what I want*; which Words what other Meaning could they have, but that, Rob, plunder, assassinate every one, and contrive Ways and Means to get me much, and let no-body have any Thing left to live? Indeed a most wicked and unworthy Saying of any one, that would be called Sovereign.

What more? A great Name, and incredible Reputation accrues to a Prince, when he gives excellent and remarkable Examples of himself in all Virtues, as Liberality, Intrepidity and Greatness of Soul, Temperance, Humanity, Justice. Examples, I say, not like what are commonly and daily to be seen, but that are above the ordinary Rate. And in regard to our Purpose in the Case of Justice, such an Example is, when the Prince punishes a great Magistrate, or a very dear Favourite of his, for high Misde-

meanours committed and clearly proved.

XVII. As among others, we read that of * *Alexander Mammæa*, who put to a public Death, and that by Smoke, *Turinus* his chief Favourite. † This Act of Justice in *Alexander* was by every one much praised, and it increased not a little his Credit and Fame.

Lastly. Let us add to what has been said, that a rapacious and unjust Magistrate or Minister is (as 'tis reasonable to be so) always highly hated by the People; from which it follows, that the Prince, in punishing him, gains an infinite Love from all those Men that hated him, and the Love for the Punisher is equal in *Proportion* to the

XVIII. Hate they had for the punished. * The Emperor *Tiberius* never did any Thing that pleased so much the *Roman* People, as the condemning to Death *Sejanus*; for he was most of all hated by every one for his Power, Insolence, and Cruelty. And tho' *Tiberius* was, even after *Sejanus's* Death, hated, yet this befel him on Account of the Cruelty and Avarice he had shewn in other Actions, and not in *Sejanus's* Case, which, far from Hatred, got him the Love of all his Subjects.

† A convenient Death for his Crime, which was, as the *Romans* called it, the Selling of Smoke; that is, the Emperor's Favours, extorting Money or Presents from those, who apply'd themselves to him for any Post or Favour from the Emperor, and imposing upon them as if he had used his Interest in their Behalf with his Master, whereas he had done nothing towards it.

* The Hatred the People of *Florence* had for the Duke of *Athens* was excessively great, yet this notwithstanding, the Day he was turned out of the Government and City, they were calmed by getting into their Hands *William d'Assisi*, the Duke's Minister, against whom they had an Ill-will beyond Expression. But a better, and of a fresher Date, is the Example of * Duke *Valentin*, XIX.
XX.
who gain'd the Hearts of the People of *Romagna*, by beheading his Governor *Remirro da Orco* at *Cesena*, who, for his many cruel Usages in that Province, had brought upon himself the extreme Hatred and Ill-will of all.

This therefore offers to Princes a very fair Occasion to do the Duty of Justice, to bring the Magistracy to its Integrity, and gain the Love of the People. And what is more besides, sometimes to enrich themselves justly and lawfully, with the Spoil of the unjust Magistrates. What does it avail therefore to say, that by making public the vile Actions of a Magistrate, the Reputation of the Office is taken away? since its Reputation suffers more by bearing than punishing them. Nay, it raises it whenever 'tis known, that the Place is cleansed and purged from bad and guilty Men, and not when it serves for a Nest and Nursery of them; for as the Body recovers Health, and gathers more Strength, when purged of the ill and peccant Humours, so Magistracy becomes glorious and powerful,

erful, when purged of knavish and wicked Magistrates. And if Pope *Leo* the Xth did not punish that Auditor of the *Rota*, the Reason, perhaps, was, either that he found not a sufficient Cause for it, or some other Particular intervened, which was unknown to any body but himself, or else he had done better to have punish'd him. Neither does it avail to say, that the Prince, by punishing a Magistrate, shews his want of Judgment in the Choice he made of him; because his Judgment would be worse for continuing him in that Place, acting against Justice, the public Good, and his own Honour. And of two Evils a wise Man ought always to chuse the less; so much the more, in that his first Error is excusable, but in no wise the second; because our Mind has so many Disguises and crafty Devices, that it easily conceals itself; neither can Men be so well known at first, and many give a fair Expectation of themselves proving good, who afterwards, in Business and Management of Affairs, discover themselves to be very ill Men. Who would have believed in the Beginning of * *Nero's* Empire, that he would afterwards have proved so wicked and cruel, having given at first such great Marks of Virtue and Goodness? A Prince therefore may be reasonably excused, if he chuses one that afterwards proves bad; but when after he has known the Wickednesses of the Minister, and they are made appear, he cannot be excused,

cused, if he takes no Notice of them ; for if Regard was to be had to this Consideration, no Prince could ever bring to Punishment a Minister, whom he had first chosen. So that neither *Tiberius* should have punished *Sejanus*, * neither *Commodus Perennius*, XXII.
 * nor *Severus Plautianus*, nor *Alexander* XXIII.
Turinus. I will not speak of our Times, that afford Instances of a fresher Date, as of * Sultan *Soliman*, * the King of *England*, XXIV.
 and others too. Neither is there any Danger, XXV.
 that the Prince should be taxed with Cruelty, when he punishes his Minister justly, and not to satisfy his Passion or Malice against him. For 'tis necessary the Minister should deserve the Punishment, and the Crime be clear and evident, so as that it is Justice that moves the Prince to take that Course, and not the Prince that gives the Motion to Justice, because this is what gives him the Name of Cruel, as in former Times it did happen to *Tiberius*. But when he has just Reason to chastise them, in the first Place, he will be seldom obliged to use the like Example, others having been already admonished and terrified by the first. In the second Place, he appears to have Compassion for all those that might be injured, and with Violence oppressed by such a Magistrate, had he not been punish'd. * *Antoninus Pius* did not fail to punish severely all of XXVI.
 them, who upon Proof appear'd to be ill and wicked.

wicked Men ; nevertheless he was always distinguished by the Name of *Pius*.

This same Way of proceeding will keep off from the Prince the Imputation of being Covetous, and the Calumny of punishing his Magistrates to take away their Estates, and enrich himself ; because, wherever Justice is manifestly seen, the Sting of Infamy cannot be fear'd, but rather the Reward of Glory ought to be hoped for, since exact Justice is done even against Men of Power and Authority ; and so much the more, because he may well punish the Magistrate without touching his Goods, except so much as is granted to him by the Laws. Nay more, it would be a double Glory for a Prince, if, the Rapine of the Minister being known, he should not only punish him for it, but procure a Restitution of Goods to be made to them, from whom they were taken away, or, at least, would convert them to some pious Use, as Building of Chapels, Endowing young Women, Benefactions to Churches, Alms to Hospitals, and the like charitable Works. I do not pretend to say, that this Rule to punish the Ministers, who do Wrong, might not admit a Distinction in many particular Cases, that happen in the World, wherein Consideration ought to be had to the Condition of the Prince, the Quality of the Minister, the Kind and Number of the Faults, the Manner how they were committed, the Regard to the
Times

Times, and many other Circumstances, which I do not intend here at present to give particular Rules for: but 'tis enough that in general this Determination be true and just; and that a Prince, who will follow this Way, will be less mistaken than by taking another Method; for this has along with it for its Directors, the Justice and Love of the People; whereas any other besides is join'd with Injustice, and the hatred of every one. I could with more Examples, and perhaps, with some other Reasons have enlarged my Discourse on this Subject, but I thought what has been said to be sufficient, if not too much; but let it be as it will, I beg you would not consider either the Prolixity or Brevity of Words, but only the Sincerity and Plainness of Truth; For Truth, fully and perfectly understood, is so profitable and pleasing, that it makes one immediately to have a Distaste for any Shew and Vanity whatsoever either of Words or Fictions, that darken her. Would to God that Men were so pleased to receive, and restore Truth to her Dignity as easily, as she shews herself to them. But I will not, by speaking what is true, begin some new Complaint, that might render me odious, as Truth itself is become, for the same Reason. Farewel.

From Sc. Silvester,
11. Oct. 1542.

D

THE



T H E
Historical Notes
 A N D
POLITICAL REFLECTIONS.

N U M B E R I.

And indeed, if private Men deserve, &c.]



THUS *Arcadius* the Emperor. (a)
 ‘ Multo magis enim poena digni
 ‘ sunt, quibus cum plurimum ho-
 ‘ noris per nostram iussionem dela-
 ‘ tum est, occulto inveniuntur in
 ‘ crimine.’ — Magistrates and Judges are the
 Prince’s Deputies for the Execution of Justice ;
 they are chosen by him to represent his Per-
 son, and to perform his Duty ; to which End,
 he intrusts them with his Power, and with it Ju-
 stice herself ; relying upon their Ability and
 Integrity, that they would dispense Justice to
 his Subjects, as himself would do. ‘ Credidit
 ‘ enim Princeps, says *Charisius*, speaking of
 ‘ the *Præfectus Prætorio*, eos, qui ob singula-

(a) L. 8. C. de Episc. & Cler.

‘ rem industriam explorata eorum fide &
 ‘ gravitate ad hujus officii magnitudinem adhi-
 ‘ bentur, non aliter judicaturos esse pro sapi-
 ‘ entia & luce dignitatis suæ, quam ipse foret
 ‘ judicatuus.’ (b) Whenever therefore, by
 abusing of that Power, they expose Justice to
 Corruption and Fraud, they are guilty of a high
 Breach of Trust, and consequently deserve a
 greater Punishment for their Crimes. ‘ Gravius
 ‘ enim puniendus esset judex, qui injuriam intu-
 ‘ lit-Quarum enim rerum custodes ac vindices
 ‘ esse debemus, si ab officio deferi nos patiamur,
 ‘ severius plectendi sumus. (c.)

Besides the Offence that a corrupt Magistrate
 commits against God, the Prince, and the People,
 as our Author here observes, it is to be considered
 what a bad Example he gives to the Public,
 and what ill Consequences will follow from it.
 Will not the common People look upon Corrup-
 tion and Bribery with a favourable Eye, when
 they see the Magistrates not exempt from them?
 And what is more, that far from being brought
 to Censure and Punishment, they are connived
 at, and supported by the supreme Power, and
 find their Advantages in it too? Will not this
 Example seduce and incite them to do the same
 in their private Concerns? *If such a great
 Man acts thus, why should not I?* This is the
 common People’s Language and Way of Rea-
 soning. They are very watchful on their Supe-
 riors Conduct, and they are glad to find Faults
 in it, to justify their own. And what Crime

(b) *L. Unica D. de Offic. Præf. Præf.*

(c) *Bodin. de Repub. l. 6. c. 6.*

will they not dare to commit, when they know that Justice is to be sold? That Money or other Considerations can save them from the Punishment of the Law? It will be worth the Reader's while to look into *Justinian's* Constitution, relating to this Subject. (d) The Passage is too long to have a Place here. I shall only set down the last Part of it. ' Est quoque hoc sacrorum
 ' eloquiorum mirabile & verum, quod avaritia
 ' omnium sit mater malorum, maxime quando
 ' non privatorum sed judicum inhæret animabus.
 ' Quis enim sine periculo non furetur, quis non
 ' latrocinabitur sine reatu ad administratorem
 ' respiciens? Illum namque videns omnia auro
 ' vendentem, & præsumens quia quidquid ege-
 ' rit illicitum, hoc pecunias dando redimet:
 ' hinc Homicidium, & Adulterium, & inva-
 ' siones, & vulnera, & raptus virginum, & com-
 ' merciorum confusio, & contemptus legum &
 ' judicum, omnibus hæc venalia proposita esse
 ' putantibus tanquam aliquod vilium mancipio-
 ' rum.

N U M B E R II.

Appius Claudius, &c.] The Revolution and Change of Government, that happen'd to *Rome* by the Occasion of *Appius Claudius's* Attempt upon the Honour of *Virginia*, is so commonly known, that it would be superfluous to take any further Notice of it. But we must observe, that this Instance of *Appius Claudius* is brought in

(d) *Novell. 8. in the Preface.*

here only to prove, that the Discovery of the Magistrate's Wickedness will make the People hate and despise him, from which the Magistracy itself will suffer too, as the *Decemvirate* did by that of *Appius Claudius*, and as a Prince would do by exposing his Magistrate's or Minister's Wickedness. Thus far this Instance may have a Relation to the Case in Question, and not in any other Respects. Since the Question supposes an inferior Magistrate, and not a Sovereign to be wicked, and to be in the Sovereign's Power either to punish him or not. Whereas *Appius Claudius*, and so the rest of the *Decemvirate*, was a supreme Magistrate, and had no other above him to be responsible to for his Actions, and who could conceal or punish his Crimes according to his own Will. Indeed the *Decemvirate* had usurped the supreme Power, but this has nothing to do with the Point in Question; it is enough that they did exercise it. *Appius* was the Magistrate and the Sovereign at the same Time; neither was it in his Power to have conceal'd his wicked Attempt, neither was it his Interest to have it discover'd. His violent Way of proceeding discover'd his vile Design, and the just Clamours and heroic Resistance of the injured Party, and that most noble Example of a *Roman* Father, in sacrificing with his own Hand his Daughter's Life to Honour; all these Things, meeting with the Disposition of the People against Tyranny, were the Occasion of the Abolishment of the *Decemvirate*, and of the *Romans* recovering their Liberty. Nothing could have prevented this Revolution, but either the slavish Compliance and Submission of *Virginia's* Father and Relations, or a stronger Force

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on the *Decemvirate's* Side, to support themselves against the People. I do not find our Author to have taken Notice of this Instance, in his Answer to the Objections of his Adversaries; perhaps he thought that superfluous, after all he had said for the Confirmation of his Opinion; and the more, because the Instance, as I have said, does not square with the Case supposed in the Question; which, I think, might serve for a sufficient Answer. But besides, the Consideration of the Good, that the *Roman* People reaped from this Discovery, plainly convinces us of the Advantage the Subjects may receive from making public the Magistrates and Ministers Crimes. Had the *Decemvirate's* Power continued, *Rome* would not only have entirely lost its Liberty, but had never rose to that Pitch of Greatness and Glory; that afterwards she did, while under a free Government. Hence we may conclude, that a Prince, by exposing and severely punishing the Magistrate's, or Minister's Crimes; cannot but do what will please the People, and be advantageous both to them and to himself; gaining by that just Means the Love and Respect of his Subjects; by which alone a Prince may be said to govern, and be sure of the Throne.

N U M B E R III.

Pope Leo X. was induced not to make a public Example of an Auditor of the Rota.] Who was this Auditor of the *Rota*, and what was his Crime, I am not able to give an Account of, tho' I have searched into many Books, that I thought could have satisfy'd my Curiosity; but
all

all my Pains have been lost. Particular Facts of this Nature are very seldom transmitted to Posterity in Print, but they are commonly known by Report among those, who frequent the Places where they did happen. Besides, 'tis to be supposed, that the Pope took particular Care not to let the Reason of his Conduct be known, or at least he discovered the Secret but to some few of his most intimate Acquaintance.

As for the Magistracy here mentioned, the *Rota* is one of the chief Courts of Justice, in which there preside twelve Judges, called *Auditori de la Rota*. Pope *Sixtus IV.* reduced them to that Number. The Determinations of this Court, stiled *Decisiones Rotæ*, are of very great Authority in Judgment, for the Settling of any doubtful Point in Law; insomuch that the Advocates in their Pleadings quote them as Law. *Sic Rota definivit.* Of the Origine, Jurisdiction, Privileges, &c. of this Court, the curious Reader may consult *Vestrius's Introductio in Romanæ Aulae Actionem, & Judiciorum Mores*, l. 2. c. 17. and the Note of *Gravati* on the Place. *Cobellius Notiti Cardinalatus*, c. 19.

N U M B E R I V.

Considering particularly, that in our Age the Affairs and Government of Rome are more supported by the Shadow of a good Fame, than by the Strength and Force of Power.] What our Author says here of the Government of Rome in his Days, when that Court was, by the Faults of the Popes, brought to a very low and precarious Condition, may be said of it in regard to all Times

Times ; considering how small and weak would be its Forces, were they not supported by a crafty Politique, under the Shadow of a religious Authority and Power.

N U M B E R V.

As Tiberius did with his Friend of Rhodus.] This was a most singular Instance of *Tiberius's* Cruelty, if it does not deserve the Name of a mad Rage. He had been of Opinion, that his Son *Drusus's* Death was caused by Intemperance and Dis-temper ; he continued in this Belief for some Years, till at last it came to his Knowledge by *Apicata*, *Sejanus's* repudiated Wife, that *Drusus* had been poisoned by *Sejanus*, with the Consent and Assistance of *Livilla*, or *Livia*, *Drusus's* own Wife (a). At this *Tiberius* fell into such a Fury and Excess of Cruelty, that he spared no Torments nor Punishments against any one, whom he suspected might have been concerned in the Fact. He was taken up whole Days in the Examination of this Cause, and was very intent upon it, insomuch that having been told, whilst thus employ'd, that the Man, in whose House he had formerly lived at *Rhodus*, and whom he had with friendly Letters invited to come to him, was arrived, he gave Order he should be put to the Torture without any Delay, as if he had been one of the Accomplices. But afterwards finding himself mistaken, far from saving the Man, and acknowledging his

(a) *Dion. lib. 57. in fin. & lib. 58.*

Mistake, he commanded he should be put to Death, lest he should discover the Injury he had done him. (b) This is not the only Instance of such a wicked political Way of *Tiberius's* proceeding. He had at another Time tortured with exquisite Torments one charged with a Crime, who at length was found to have been unjustly accused ; nevertheless, he ordered him to be killed immediately ; alledging as a Reason to justify his tyrannical Action, that the Man had suffered too great an Injury ever to live happy. In the like Manner his Successor *Caligula*, having, by a Mistake of the Name, punished another Person than whom he intended, said for the Justification of his Action, that he deserved to be thus punished as well as the other. (c) What is not human Pride, the Seed and Root almost of all evil Actions, capable to persuade a Man to do ? *Tiberius* chose rather to act against his own Conscience and Justice, by the shedding of innocent Blood, than to acknowledge his Mistake ; and to be rather a cruel Tyrant, than to be thought a Man subject to Error. Can we after this wonder at the political Conduct of Princes ? Because they are superior in Power to others, they would also be thought to be superior in Sense and Understanding ; incapable of committing any Fault, or to be in the Wrong ; and to support themselves in this vain Opinion, they will abuse that Power, which has been intrusted in their Hands, for the Defence of Truth, Execution of Justice, and Protection of

(b) *Sueton. in Tib. c. 62.*

(c) *Sueton. in Calig. c. 30.*

their Subjects, by maintaining Falshood and Errors, protecting and giving Course to Injustice, and oppressing and destroying the People.

N U M B E R VI.

As it happened to Alexander the Great, &c.] This Account agrees intirely with *Justin*, from whom, I don't doubt, our Author had it. ' *Babyloniā redit* (says he) *ibi multæ devictæ gentes Præfectos suos accusaverunt, quos sine respectu amicitiae in conspectu legatorum necari iussit.*' (a) But by the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, *Curtius*, and others, this Fact did not happen at *Babylon*, but on the Way to it. So that *Justin* may be accused of being mistaken, and besides, of contradicting himself; since he soon after relates what had happened to *Alexander* on his Way to *Babylon*. (b) ' *Ab ultimis littoribus Oceani Babyloniā revertenti nunciatur, &c.*' and a few Words after, ' *Hac igitur ex causa Babyloniā festinanti.*' And immediately after this, he mentions *Alexander's* Arrival at *Babylon*, with what he did there. ' *Reversus igitur Babyloniā, &c.*

Bongarsius imputes this Contradiction to the Failure of *Justin's* Memory; but it does not seem very probable, that in so short a Narration as he gives of *Alexander's* Journey, he would have forgot what but a few Lines before he had said, and have contradicted himself so manifest-

(a) *Lib. 12. c. 10.*

(b) *Lib. eod. c. 13.*

ly. Therefore I am rather inclined to think the Text of *Justin* to be corrupted, either by the Copyists, or others, who did not well understand the Signification of the Word *ibi*, that immediately follows, which ought not to be taken here as a local Adverb, *there*, but as marking the Time whilst the Action was done, for *tum*, *then*, in which Signification it is also taken by the best Authors. Instead of *redit*, I would read *tendit*; a very small Alteration. It is well known, that in Manuscripts the Letters *r* and *t* are very oft put one for another; (*c*) and that *n* is frequently expressed by a Line upon the Syllable; so that *tēdit* for *tendit* could have been easily changed into *redit*. According to this natural Emendation, and by taking *ibi* here for *tum*, *then*, at that Time, whilst he was on his March to Babylon, as if he had said, *Babyloniam tendenti*, *Justin* will not then contradict himself, and will agree with the rest of the Historians.

As for *Alexander's* punishing his Ministers so severely, I think it so far from deserving to be blamed as too cruel, that it ought to be commended as the most just and political Action he ever did. Let any one reflect upon the Motives and Reason, and the good Effects of it, and he will be soon convinced of the Truth. It ought to be considered, how great a Number there was of those conquered Nations, that they were but lately subdued by him, and consequently unwilling to bear the Yoke of a new Government; the Distance they were at from *Mà-*

cedonia, and the usual barbarous Treatments, that conquered Nations generally meet with from their new Governors. All these Things, I say, considered, *Alexander* did but what Justice and Politicks required him to do ; that is, to give a favourable Ear to the Complaints of those wretched oppressed People, and by an exemplary Punishment of their most wicked Governors, (*d*) to convince them of the exact Justice he dispensed to all his Subjects, which could not but gain him the Affection of them, and dispose them to live quiet under so just a Monarch, laying aside any Thoughts of a Revolt, to free themselves from his Power ; and at the same Time, by striking a Terror upon the Governors to prevent for the future their insolent and tyrannical Way of treating the People, committed to their Care and Administration. And indeed, it was this just Severity of *Alexander*, that kept in Order so many different Nations, that were in different Parts of the World under his Dominion, the Governors of them not daring to do any Injury to the People, as *Arrian* very well observes in relating this Action.

‘ Quæ ut nuntiata sunt (that is, the Crimes of
 ‘ *Cleandrus* and *Sitalces*) necari eos jussit, ut &
 ‘ reliqui Satrapæ aut Præsides, aut Principes, qui
 ‘ iis locis constituerentur, metuerent, si officium
 ‘ non fecissent, sese eodem supplicio affectum iri.
 ‘ Quod certe, si quid aliud, gentes quæ ab A-
 ‘ lexandro vi subactæ essent, vel sua sponte de-
 ‘ ditionem fecissent (quarum tanta erat multitudo,

(*d*) The Crimes, with which the Governors were charged, are mentioned by *Curtius*, lib. 13. c. 1. and *Arrian*, l. 6. p. m. 142.

‘ tantoque locorum intervallo inter se disjunge-
 ‘ bantur) in officio continuit. Neque enim lice-
 ‘ bat sub Alexandri imperio cuiquam Præfecto
 ‘ subditos injuria afficere. (e)

What can be said more glorious in praise of *Alexander*? Does he not deserve for this the Name of *Great*, rather than for all his Conquests? To what End or Profit is the Conquering of Nations without the Knowledge of Well-governing, in doing Justice to the People? What can give to a Conqueror a stronger Assurance of a peaceable Enjoyment of his Conquests, than to gain the Love of the Subjects by a just Administration? Would the Princes follow *Alexander's* Example in this, how much greater would they be, and how much happier their Subjects!

N U M B E R VII.

Was poisoned by Antipater, &c.] The Manner of *Alexander's* Death was variously reported; but this mentioned here by our Author, was the most commonly believed. ‘ Veneno necatum,
 ‘ says *Curtius*, (a) credidere plerique, filium An-
 ‘ tipatri inter Ministros, Iollam nomine, patris
 ‘ jussu dedisse.’ And *Justin* avers it as the true one. (b) ‘ Amici causam morbi, intemperiem
 ‘ ebrietatis disseminaverunt: Re autem vera insi-
 ‘ diæ fuerunt, quarum infamiam successorum po-
 ‘ tentia oppressit. Auctor insidiarum Antipater
 ‘ fuit, &c.’

(e) *Lib. 6. p. m. 142, 143. edit. H. Steph. 1575.*

(a) *Lib. 10. c. 10. and the Note of Pitiscus on it.*

(b) *Lib. 12. c. 13 & 14.*

N U M B E R V I I I .

Which he did, because, &c.] This was not the only Reason, that moved *Antipater* to poison *Alexander*. There were many others, tho' the Fear of the Danger of his Life, being increased by the severe Punishment inflicted on those Governors, might have hastened him to put in Execution his treacherous Design against *Alexander*. ' Qui, *Antipater*, cum carissimos
 ' amicos ejus interfectos videret ; Alexandrum
 ' Lyncistam, generum suum occisum : se mag-
 ' nis rebus in Græcia gestis, non tam gratum
 ' apud regem, quam invidiosum esse : A matre
 ' quoque ejus Olympiade variis se criminationibus
 ' vexatum : Huc accedebant ante paucos dies
 ' supplicia in Præfectos devictarum nationum cru-
 ' deliter habita. Ex quibus rebus se quoque a
 ' Macedonia non ad societatem militiæ, sed ad
 ' pœnam evocatum arbitrabatur. (a) So that it
 can't be said, that *Alexander's* Severity in punish-
 ing the Governors of the Provinces, was the
 only Cause of his having been poisoned. Be-
 sides, no human Prudence, nor Caution can be
 capable to withstand and prevent Treacheries
 of this Nature, to which a good as well as a bad
 Prince is exposed ; and consequently the Fear
 of falling into such a Danger, ought not to hin-
 der Princes from doing Justice, and punishing
 their wicked Ministers, the Oppressors of the
 People.

(b) *Fuß. Loc. cit.*

NUMBER IX.

Philip of France, &c.] The Abolition of the Order of the *Knights Templars*, which happened in the Beginning of the 14th Century, in the Reign of *Philip* the IVth, surnamed *le Bel*, King of *France*, and the Pontificate of *Clement* the Vth, the first Pope that translated the See of *Rome* to *Avignon*, is a very memorable Fact generally known and mentioned in History, and never doubted of by any Author. But what were the Motives and Cause of it, and whether those Knights were guilty of such execrable Crimes, as they were accused of, and condemned for, and their Order abolish'd, is what the Historians do not agree upon ; every one judging according to his Inclination and Interest. It would be too tedious here to give a full Account, and enter into a particular Examination of this Affair. Two modern ingenious Authors have already taken the Pains to write at large on this Subject, (a) the curious Reader may for his further Satisfaction consult them, and judge of the Merit of the Cause. I shall only take Notice of what I think more remarkable, and will serve to clear both the Fact, and what our Author says of it. I can't but admire his Prudence in writing; he says no more on this Point, than what is out of any Dispute, necessary to his Purpose, and could give no Offence to any Party. It is cer-

(a) Dupuy *Histoire de la Condan. des Templiers. Gurtler. Hist. Templariorum.*

tain by the Testimony of all the most credited Historians, that in those Times when this Fact happened, the common Report was, that (b) the Knights Templars were innocent of those abominable Crimes they were charged with, and that the Persecution against them was raised, and contrived by the King of *France's* Malice, to the End of enriching himself with their Estate; and at the same Time to deliver himself from the Fear and Suspicion he had of them, as fomenting the popular Tumults against him; that Order being immensely rich and powerful in his Kingdom. According to this common Report of those Times is the Sentiment of many ancient as well as modern Historians, even among the *French* (c), who do freely and impartially lay the Charge of so unjust and barbarous a Persecution on their King, as the Contriver and Promoter of it for his own Interest. As for the Part the Pope acted in this Affair, our Author takes no Notice of it, as not necessary to his Purpose; and to have mentioned it, would in all Probability have disoblged the Court of *Rome*, wherein he lived, and had Expectation of Preferment from it. I will not accuse the Pope as the first Promoter of this Persecution, tho' some have done it, (d) who tell us, that it was the Pope's Request to the King of *France*, that he would put to Death and destroy all the *Knights*

(b) *Villani l. 8. c. 92. Antoninus. Trithemius in Chron. Hirfang. Naclerus & alii apud Ciaccon. in Vita Clem. V.*

(c) Among the rest, *Papyrius Masson Annal. Franc. Mezeray, &c.*

(d) *Girard du Haillain, or Hallain, Hist. de France, tom 2. in the Life of Philip le Bel.*

Templars, as they were the greatest Exposers of the Pope's and Clergy's dissolute Life and Vices ; which the King promised him to do. But this Charge is without Grounds, the contrary being commonly attested by the Historians, *viz.* That it was at the King's Request that the Pope gave his Hand to it. But for all this he is no less (not to say more) to be blamed and condemned than the King of *France*, for so basely complying with his wicked Design, which he approved and executed for no other End, than to support himself in that Dignity, obtained by the King's Power and Interest on scandalous Conditions ; to the Performance of which he had engaged himself in the most solemn and sacred Manner. (e) Thus shamefully and infamously prostituting his Conscience and Character, and exposing himself and his Memory to the Reproaches of the World, to shelter, if possible, the King's most unchristian and inhuman Action from them ; as a late Writer (f) has done, by appealing to the Testimony of the Pope's Bulls for the Justification of the King. A Testimony (if he really intended what he says) that, far from deserving any Credit, ought not to be admitted in a Cause, in which the Pope as well as the King are Parties. Did not the Pope act in this Affair to comply with the King's Will ? so that both were in the same Combination. How can one of them be excus'd or justify'd by the other ? What among the rest was that Article, which the King reserved to tell him afterwards, and he promised to perform, tho' ignorant of what it was ?

(e) *V. Ciaccon. Vit. Pontif. Roman. in Vita Clem. V.*

(f) *Baluzius in his Notes on the Life of Clement V. in Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. 1. p. 590.*

(*g) A Propofal of fuch a Nature brings along with it a juft Suspicion of Wickednefs ; and no Man would engage himfelf to the Performance of it but he, who is refolved to ftick at nothing for his own Intereft. And why did he not perform the Article of condemning as an Heretic, and burning the Bones of Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth ? Was not this one in the Agreement between him and the King when the Popedom was offer'd to him ? Did he not promife to execute it when Pope ? Indeed we muft fay he would, had he not feen the Difficulty of executing it, and in particular the Prejudice he would have confequently fuffered by it, which was no lefs, than to make and declare his Election to the Pontificate void ; fince the Cardinals, who had chofen him Pope, had been promoted to that Dignity by *Boniface* ; fo that This could not be condemned without obliging them to refign the Cardinalfhip. Therefore he, to prevent the Lofs of the Triple Crown, inftead of condemning *Boniface*, and burning his Bones as an Heretick, gave his Hand to the Perfecution of the *Templars*, to the King's Satisfaction, who eafily gave up the Proceeding againft *Boniface* for the Riches he gathered from the Destruction of the *Templars*. For the Confirmation of what I fay, both of the King's and the Pope's Conduct in this Affair, I'll name no other Hiftorian, but *Antoninus* of *Siena* Archbifhop of *Florence*, who lived in the next Century after the Abolition of the *Templars*. His Authority claims Refpect from the Church of *Rome*, fince he has no lefs deferved of her, than to be canonized a Saint, and as fuch di-

(*g) *Ciaccon. l. c.* mentioning the fix Articles propofed by the King to the Pope.—*Sexrum arduum & difficile oportuno tempore aperiendum rejicio.*

vine Honour is pay'd and Prayers addrest to him. *Antoninus's* Words are the following. (g)
 ' Isti ergo (that is, the two Informers against the
 ' *Templars*) cum in carcere essent insinuaverunt
 ' officialibus regis, illos religiosos de ordine
 ' Templariorum hæresibus & flagitiis irretitos;
 ' unde si procederetur in inquisitione contra eos,
 ' procurante hoc Rege a Pontifice, magnas divi-
 ' tias & multas eorum facile obtinere posset.
 ' Quod cum Regi nunciatum fuisset, suggessit Pon-
 ' tifici, ut deleret ordinem illum, utpote hære-
 ' sibus implicatum & nefandis erroribus. Credi-
 ' dtur tamen magis inductus ad extorquendam pe-
 ' cuniam ab illis, & bona eorum, ex odio concepto
 ' contra magistrum mansionis, quam ex zelo justitiæ.
 ' Pontifex autem ut infestationem Regis a se amo-
 ' veret, sollicitantis pro observatione supradictæ
 ' promissionis (that is, the condemning of *Boni-
 ' face* the VIIIth as an Heretic) & Regi in hoc
 ' complaceret, absque alia discussione materiæ
 ' eorum, quæ Templariis objiciebantur, utrum
 ' vere an calumniose procederetur, petitioni Regis
 ' acquievit, concedens per literas apostolicas, ut
 ' omnes Templarii per orbem dispersi certa die
 ' determinata caperentur, & omnia eorum bona
 ' sequestrarentur: qui ubique habebant magnas
 ' possessiones, & bona, & loca multa. Quæ au-
 ' tem in Francia erant, eorum Rex fecit per offi-
 ' ciales suos omnia usurpari pro curia sua, &c.'
 Thus far of *Antoninus's* Passage for the present
 Purpose, the whole is too long to be transcribed
 here. (b) What have they to say against *An-*

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toninus's(g) *Histor. 3. part. ad an 1308.*(b) According to this *Giacconius*, Anno 1307. Philippus Francorum Rex, magno comitatu Pictavios, quo Pontifex
ejus

Antoninus's Testimony? That he took this Account from *J. Villani*. (i) But let, if they will too, *Antoninus's* Words be the same with *Villani's*, what then? He could not have said any Thing of this Transaction, but what he had from other Writers before him, or by Tradition. It was impossible for him to know, of his own Knowledge, what had been passed above 100 Years before, unless they'll say, that he had it from Revelation; but how they can reject then his Authority, let themselves answer to that. And could *Antoninus* have followed a better Author than *Villani*? He had lived in the Time when the Fact happened, and his History has in every Age been esteem'd, and credited for its Sincerity. Does not he, without paying any Regard to his Countrymen, tell us, that one of those wicked Wretches, that accused the *Templars*, was a *Florentine*? (k) Let them, if they can, name any other Historian, that *Antoninus* could

ejus rogatu, cum curia accesserat, adiit, Papamque rogavit, ut quantum è postulatis præstaret, Bonifacique memoriam execraretur, corpus comburi mandaret, & omnia acta rescinderet, affirmans, se 43. capita hæreseos contra ipsum probare posse Pontifex iniquis Regis postulatis refragari non audens, neque Bonifacii Catholici Pontificis memoriam abolere volens, consilio usus Cardinalis Pratenfis, Regem ita elusit, ut diceret eam rem Concilio generali opus habere, quod brevi ipse Viennæ indicare constituerat. Rex Parisios redit, Pontifex ex ejus potestate exiens, Avenionem in Narbonensium primum accessit, quæ in Regis Caroli ditione erat. Cæterum antequam Pictaviis discederet Templariorum ordinem Regis Francorum instigatione abrogavit, & eorum immensas opes partim Pontificio, Regioque fisco addixit, partim fratribus Hospitalariis, &c.

(i) *Vitoret. Addit. ad Ciaccon.*

(k) *Nosso Dei nostro Fiorentino.*

have

have preferr'd for Credit to *Villani*. But is it *Antoninus* alone that has followed him in the Account of this Fact? Have not the best Historians after that Time done the same? Besides that what *Villani*, and with him our Author says, of the Motives and Cause of the *Templars* Persecution, and of their Innocence, is what was the common Report and Opinion in those Times, as we said before. A *French* Author who lived then, and quoted by *Masson*, roundly and plainly says, that they were unjustly persecuted. 'Gallicus scriptor, says *Masson*, illius temporis Templarios injuria everfos, ordinemque illum sanctissimum fuisse dicit. Tho' I would not answer for the Holiness of that Order, yet the Injustice done to the Knights, is what I think to be very apparent from the following Considerations on Particulars generally attested by the Historians.

First. Who were those, who first accused them, but two, and they the most profligate Wretches; one a very debauched Man, who, for his Vices and Heresy, had been condemn'd to Prison for Life by the Master of that Order, to whose Jurisdiction he was subject as a Member of it, and being Prior of *Montfaucon*. The other of the same Order too, but a Man abandoned to all sort of Wickedness, an Exile from his Country, and for his Crimes kept Prisoner. Both such Villains, that dy'd of violent Deaths; the Prior killed, and the other hang'd.

Secondly. The Manner how they were arrested; that is, by a secret Order of the King, which was to be executed tho' in very different Places, at the same Time. To this Purpose the Words of *Bernard Guidonis*, which he begins his Narrative

rative with, are too remarkable not to be transcribed here. (*k) ‘ Anno (1307) res mira, res
 ‘ magna nostris accidit temporibus, quæ futuris
 ‘ scribitur memoranda. In festo siquidem Sancti
 ‘ Edvardi Confessoris 3°. Idus Octobris feria
 ‘ sexta fuerunt capti primo Templarii ubique in
 ‘ regno Franciæ ex ordinatione Regis & Consilii,
 ‘ inopinate, sane mirantibus cunctis, audientibus
 ‘ antiquam Templi militiam ab ecclesia Romana
 ‘ nimis privilegiatam una die subito capti-
 ‘ vari, causamque ignorantibus captionis tam
 ‘ repentinæ, exceptis paucis secretariis & jura-
 ‘ tis. — The very same Words are to be
 read in *Theodoricus de Niem*. (l)

Thirdly The Manner of proceeding against them, which was not by Way of Justice, observing the Forms of the Law as to pass a definitive Sentence on the Cause; but by a Provision or Order from a Fulness of Power. Thus the Pope himself says, in his Bull for the Abolition of the Order. (m) ‘ Non per viam sententiæ definitivæ, cum
 ‘ eam super hoc secundum inquisitiones & pro-
 ‘ cessus super his habitos non possemus ferre de
 ‘ jure, sed *per viam provisionis seu ordinationis*
 ‘ *apostolicæ, &c.*’ And can we after this say with *Baluzius*, that no Credit ought to be given to *Albericus de Rosate*? (n) A very famous Lawyer of *Bergamo*, living in 1350; that is, not

(*k) *Apud Baluz. in Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. 1. p. 65.*

(l) *Vitæ Pontificum Romanor.* published by *Eccardus* in his Collection, tom. p. pag. 1474.

(m) *Apud Gurtler. §. 141.* This Bull was published in the second Session of the Synod of *Vienne* in France.

(n) In *Latin Roxiatus* by *Jacob Bergomens.* which is translated by *Sanjovino, di Rosata*, and *Rosatus* by *Forsterus. Hist. Jur. civil. l. 2.*

many Years after the Abolition of the *Templars*, and who declares of what he says, that he had it from the Mouth of one who had been an Examiner of the Cause, and Testimonies. ‘*Templarii*, these are his Words, *erant magnus ordo in ecclesia, & erant milites strenui beatæ Mariæ; & destructus fuit ille ordo tempore Clementis Papæ V. ad provocationem Regis Franciæ. Et sicut audivi ab uno, qui fuit examinatus causæ & testium, destructus fuit contra justitiam, & mihi dixit quod ipse Clemens protulit hoc: ‘Et si non per viam justitiæ potest destrui, destruatur tamen per viam expediendi, ne scandalizetur charus filius noster Rex Franciæ. — That the Pope condemned the Order of the *Templars* in Compliance with the Request of the King, is a Fact too evident to be deny’d. In the Continuation of *Martinus Polonus*, published by *Eccardus*, it is said. ‘Eodem anno (1311) Clemens Papa Quintus Viennæ celebravit generale concilium, in quo multa constituit, Clementinas edidit, *ordinem Templariorum destruxit ad nutum Regis Franciæ*, qui Ecclesiam tunc Bonifacii papæ VIII. tanquam hæretici memoriam damnari petiit, & ossa ejus igne cremari. Sed cum totus ecclesiasticus ordo sibi resistere ret, desiit ab incepto—— *tom. 1. p. 1438.**

Fourthly. The Enormity and Extravagance of the Crimes imputed to them is such, that without very clear and convincing Proofs, no Man can give any Credit to, (o) at least as to believe

(o) Quid hic lector dicturus est? (says *Mariana*, after he had given a Catalogue of the Crimes they were charged with)

believe, that all such Abominations were commonly practised, and as Laws established among the whole Order. (*p*) And indeed we read, that in *Spain* they were declared innocent of the Crimes they were accused of; and this by the common Voice of the Bishops and Clergy assembled in Council at *Salamanca*. But the last Determination of the whole Affair being left to the Pope, his Authority prevailed against the Council's Decree; so that the Order of *Templars* was abolished, and all their Estates and Towns were seized by the King. (*q*) After the same Manner

with) *Facta hæc, ac non ficta potius, similiaque anicularum fabulis esse judicabit?* And a little after, he acknowledges that nothing might be said for the Credibility of the Fact, but that it is attested by the Pope. *Tam cito in omne improbitatis genus publice degenerasse vix esset credibile, nisi Clementis diplomata*——*Unde hæc hausimus, indicio essent famam haudquaquam vanam fuisse, &c. Hist. de Reb. Hisp. lib. 15. c. 10.*

(*p*) The Reader may find them related from Records by *Dupin* and *Bzovius*, &c. ——— I can't forbear to mention one of them, as so very remarkable for its Extravagancy, that no-body can believe it without exposing himself to be ridiculed, or pity'd for his want of Sense; and yet this was one of the Articles, which the Pope gave to his Commissioners to inquire into in examining the Witnesses. *Item, Quod in receptione Fratrum dicti ordinis, vel circa interdum recipiens, & receptus aliquando se deosculabantur in ore, in umbilico, seu in ventre nudo, & in ano seu spina dorsi*——*Item aliquando in virga virili* The like ridiculous Charge is in our Days laid on the Members of a Society, renowned for keeping the Secret among themselves.

(*q*) *Salamanticæ in Vectionibus Patrum concilium habitum est*——*de vinctis atque supplicibus quæstione habita, causæque cognita, pro eorum innocentia pronunciatum communi Patrum suffragio: Ad Pontificem tamen Romanum rejecta totius rei summa deliberatio. Ea contra Patrum decretum valuit. Deletoque ordine, bona abs Rege occupata, atque oppida omnia sunt. Marian. cit. loc.*

Manner in *Italy* they were acquitted in a Council held at *Ravenna* (*anno* 1311) by *Raynaldus Conco-regius* Archbishop of that See, a Man renowned in History for the strict Discipline, and Reformation of Manners he introduced in his Diocese, and for the Holiness of his Life very much esteemed; and honoured as a Saint. (r) In that Council the Cause of the *Templars* in particular was most carefully examined, the Knights were summoned to appear, the Accusations and Witnesses against them produced, and they that appeared were heard and dismissed; and others of them according to the said Council's Order, cleared themselves of the Accusations before the Bishop of *Bologna*. A full Account of what passed in that Council concerning the *Templars*, the Reader may find in the History of *Ravenna* written by *Rubeus*, one of the best Historians of *Italy*. (s) It is worthy to be remarked, First, that the Fathers assembled in that Council unanimously refused to refer the Judgment of this Affair to the Pope, because, they said, a General Council was shortly to be convoked. Secondly, That the *Templars* should not be put to the Question, in which all agreed, except two *Dominican* Friars both Inquisitors; that is to say, cruel and sanguinary Tormentors by Profession. Thirdly, Tho' in the next following Session it was decreed, that the Innocents should be absolved, and the guilty punished according to Law; yet they explained themselves, that by Innocents ought to be understood

(r) *V. Rubeus, Hist. Raven. l. 6. p. 538. Ughel. Ital. Sacra, tom. 2.*

(s) I have made Use of the Edition of *Venet. 1589*, in Fol. 1. 6. p. 524, & seq.

those, that had revoked their Confession made for Fear of Torments; or if it appeared, that they did not dare to revoke it for Fear of undergoing new ones. Fourthly, That the Order should continue in the Possession of their Goods and Estate, if the major Part of them were innocent; and the Guilty abjuring their Heresy, had suffered Punishment according to the Rules of the Order. But for all this the Pope's Sentence for the Abolition of it prevailed. — Likewise in *Germany*, where the *Templars*, trusting to the Justice of their Cause, with an undaunted Courage opposed the Pope's Bull, which was to be put in Execution against them by *Peter* the Archbishop of *Mayance*, who had the Pope's Commission, and had for that Reason called a Synod there. They, foreseeing the Design of it, boldly appeared in the Synod, protested the Innocence of their Brethren, who had suffered in *France*, and appealed for their Cause to the next Pope, who was to succeed *Clement*, with the Body of all the Clergy with him assembled. This Remonstrance had such an Effect, that a new Commission was sent from the Pope to the Archbishop, according to which the *Templars* Cause was heard and examined, and having by Proofs cleared themselves of the Charge laid to them, they were accordingly by the Sentence absolved as Innocent. Tho' to give Place to the Pope's Bull, the Name and Statutes of the Order were abolished; but They were admitted into other Military Orders, and their Estates divided and appropriated to the same. (t) Is not this a very

(t) *Serarius Mogunt. Rer. l. 5. p. m. 850* — *Naucler. Chronogr. vol. 2. p. m. 986. Mariana, l. c.*

strong Presumption, not to say more, in Favour of the *Templars*? They are absolved by Councils in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and condemned no where but in *France*. How came this to pass? If the *French Templars* were found Guilty, let them be punished, but why should the whole Order suffer for them? The Reason is plain; the two wicked Contrivers and Promoters of this unjust Persecution, the Pope and the King, were both in *France*, and both resolved to invade the Riches of that Order.

Fifthly. The Resignation and Constancy, with which they bore the most exquisite Torments, and cruel Death, always protesting and declaring their Innocency, no Promises nor Fear prevailing upon it: And even those who had confessed themselves guilty before, saying all what the Judges would have them to say, yet when at the Place of Execution, they intirely retracted all what they had said, attesting it to be false, and extorted from them by Fear, and Violence of Torments, and seduced to it by the Pope and the King, as their Grand Master in particular most solemnly did. This is an uncontested Fact, and it would be needless to bring Testimonies for it. I'll only impart to the Reader the Words of *Bernardus Guidonis*, (u) whom I have already quoted before, as one whose Authority alone would have been sufficient, had all the Historians been silent on this Particular. He not only lived at that very same Time, but was a *Frenchman*, and Frier of the Order of *St. Dominick*, a Bishop, and Inquisitor against the Heretics in the Kingdom of *France*; not

(u) Alias de la Guionie, or la Guionie. V. Moreri's Dict. Artie Guidonis.

to mention that he dedicated his Book * to Pope *John* the XXIst or XXIIId, according to others, *Clement* the Vth's Successor. *Guidonis*, after having given an Account of some Executions made of the *Templars*, concludes thus.

‘ Unum autem mirandum fuit, quod omnes, &
 ‘ singuli figillatim confessiones suas, quas prius
 ‘ fecerant in judicio, & jurati confessi fuerant dicere veritatem, penitus retractarunt ; dicentes
 ‘ se falsa dixisse prius & se fuisse mentitos, nullam super hoc reddentes causam aliam nisi vim
 ‘ vel metum tormentorum quod de se talia faterentur — It was a very hard Fate for them, not only in that they extorted from them a Confession by Torments, but that what they said afterwards availed them nothing, but they were accounted to have relapsed, and as such were condemned ; and those who did never confess were kept in Prison. (w) ‘ Qui præfatos casus
 ‘ enormes de se & de aliis publice confessi sunt
 ‘ & postea negaverunt, velut prolapsi combusti
 ‘ sunt ; qui autem nunquam voluerunt fateri, in
 ‘ carceribus detinentur — And another Writer of this Pope's Life. ‘ Multi eorum revocant quod
 ‘ dixerant. Movetur quæstio contra eos utrum talis revocatio possit dici relapsio, & judicatur
 ‘ contra eos quod sic. Unde in Parisiis comburantur quinquaginta quatuor, stantibus eis in
 ‘ proposito quod veri Catholici essent. (x) —

* Flores Chronicorum, seu Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum The whole Book was never printed by what I know ; but I have seen a MS. of it.

(w) In the Life of *Clement* the Vth, writ by *John*, a Canon of St *Victor* of *Paris*, printed by *Baluzius*, in *Vitis Papar. Avenionens.* tom. I.

(x) *Ptolemæus* lucensis ordin. Prædicat. apud eundem *Baluzium*.

‘ And Amalricus Augerii de Biterris. Sed
 ‘ postea illi qui denegabant, cum tormentis ipsam
 ‘ (veritatem de præmissis) tunc libenter confite-
 ‘ bantur, & aliqui ipsorum in tormentis sine
 ‘ confessione moriebantur vel comburebantur. *

The cruel and barbarous Manner they were
 were treated with, and their Constancy in suffer-
 ing violent Torments and Death, could not but
 confirm the People in the Notion they had of
 their being unjustly charged with those Crimes ;
 insomuch that they look’d upon them as Mar-
 tyrs, and as such they were honoured by many
 Persons of exemplary and holy Life ; and the
 Bones and Ashes of some of them were secretly
 carry’d away and kept as Relicks.

The Reasons in Favour of the *Templars* are
 so strong, that even some of the most partial
 for the other Side dare not plainly to acknowledge
 them, but leave the Decision in Doubt. ‘ De-
 ‘ letus est ordo jure an injuria dubium est. (y)
 We may easily understand by this modest Way of
 Speaking, that it was not an easy Matter for them
 to justify the King’s and Pope’s Actions.

After all these Considerations, I can’t but
 conclude with *Masson’s* Words. ‘ Quid hic lec-
 ‘ tores dicturi sunt ? Regem illum certe impium,
 ‘ Pontificem inclementem fateantur necesse est,
 ‘ mitiorem enim sententiam dicere non pos-
 ‘ sint. (z)

* Apud eund. Baluz. l. c.

(y) Joseph. Geldolph. a Ritschel. in his Book *Patriarchæ
 Familiarum religiosarum, & suppres eorum. Brux. 1641. 8vo*
 Ad me quod attinet, fidem relinquo penes authores & Cle-
 mentis V. relationem. *Bruodinus in Propugnac. Verit. l. 1.*
 c. 17. §. 2.

(z) *Annal. Franc. l. 3. in Vit. Philip. Pulchri.*

I'll add to this but one Reflection, which is, that *Philip le Bell* has not been the first Prince, neither *Clement* the Vth the first Pope, that have abused the Holiness of Religion to cover their private Interest and wicked Actions ; and to raise and promote Persecutions under the Cloak of Piety to enrich themselves, or for some other worldly End, at the Cost of many and many innocent People's Lives. The Treatments the *Jews* have often met with from several Princes, the Holy Wars, and the Persecutions against them, whom they call *Heretics*, are too well known to the World, as not to see the political End they proposed to themselves by promoting and carrying them on.

N U M B E R X.

In the like Manner also was Vespasian blamed, &c.] This is reported by *Suetonius* as a common Belief of the People, not affirming, or denying the Truth of it. ‘ *Creditur etiam*, says he, ‘ *procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret: quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur uti, quod quasi & siccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes.* (a) I find no other Author mentioning this Fact ; which alone, if true, would deeply stain the Glory of his Name. A Prince, that makes Use of such Means to get Money, deserves no better Name than that of a Tyrant.

(a) *Vespas. c. 6.*

However this Imputation may be, the Historians agree in blaming *Vespasian* for his Greediness of Money, to satisfy which, he would not be ashamed of the most sordid and unjust Ways to squeeze it out from the People. He not only renewed the Duties and Taxes, abolished by *Galba*, but charged the Subjects with new and heavy ones. He increased the Tributes of the Provinces, of some even double. He made a public Traffick of what a private Man would have been ashamed of, buying Things in order to sell them at a better Rate; but what is worst, he would sell Offices and Places, and take Money to discharge accused Persons, without any Regard whether they were innocent or guilty. (b) Indeed he never went so far as to put to Death an Innocent Man on Account of enriching himself. (c) Yet to save Criminals for Money's Sake, is what he can't be too much condemn'd for; as acting against the principal Duty of a Prince, which is to be the Guardian and Executor of the Laws for the Maintenance of Justice, in bringing Criminals to Punishment. What will become of the particular as well as the public Good, whenever the Execution of the Law is set to Sale, and Crimes find an Asyle in Money? Neither deserves he to be less blamed for his sordid Way of getting Money by Traffick in buying and selling Goods, debasing in so shameful a Manner the Grandeur and Dignity of the Princely Character; from whence the Respect and Veneration, that is due to it, will be lessened.

(b) *Sueton. in Vespas. c. 16.*

(c) *Dion Cass. l. 66.*

Avarice and sordid Gain will make any Man to be despised and hated, but how much more the Prince! Traffick is within the Province of the Subjects and not of Princes; (d) and the Subjects cannot but suffer whenever Princes turn Merchants. It is Traffick that the greatest Part of the Subjects get their Livelihood and support their Families by. The Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius* forbid Traffick to the Nobles, (e) wisely considering how prejudicial it would be to the common People and Merchants, should Traffick be permitted to Men of Rank and Power.

Some perhaps would rather lay the Blame of this upon *Mucianus*, the Emperor's chief Minister and Favourite. It was he that advised *Vespasian* to raise and gather up Money by any Means whatsoever, Money, as he was wont to say on all Occasions, being the Sinews of War. Under this specious Pretext of carrying on the War, and to supply the Treasury for the necessary Expences of the State, he used all the most unreasonable and unjust Ways to squeeze Money from the People, having no Regard to the Manner, provided he could get a great deal. Informations against the rich Subjects, and Confiscations of their Estates being every-where encouraged, the wealthier any Man was, the nearer and surer he was to be op-

(d) Princes should always remember that truly royal Saying of *Alexander* the Great. ' Me non mercatorem me-
' mini esse sed Regem. *Curt. l. 4. c. 11. 14.*

(e) *L. 3. Cod. de commerciis & mercatoribus.*

pressed and ruined. (f) But, I think, *Vespasian* ought to be more blamed for following and giving himself over to his chief Minister's Advice and Conduct, so contrary to Justice and Reason, and so prejudicial to his Honour and the People's Good. This he knew too well, and himself at first appeared to have some Remorse in doing it; but afterwards, by the Prosperity of his Fortune; and the Instructions of ill Masters; that is his Ministers, he got over all Remorse, and boldly went on in this wicked Way of oppressing the People. (g) Besides, he could not but know and see, that *Mucianus*, at the same time he was filling the public Coffers, gathered immense Riches to himself, living in such a magnificent and profuse Manner, that exposed his Pride and Vanity to the Eyes of the World, and cast at once a tacit Reproach upon his Master's frugal Way of Living. The Advocates for *Mucianus* will say, that he had such a Regard for his Master's Honour, that he in this, contrary to the usual Method of chief Ministers, took upon himself the Odium of the People. And that he acted as a public-spirited Man, in that he contributed out of his own Purse to the Expences of the War. But let a prime Minister do what he can to take upon himself the Odium of the People, yet he can't hinder it from reflecting upon his Master, by whose Order or Approbation he is supposed to act. Besides, who is that prime Minister, who would not gladly bear the People's Odium,

(f) *Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 84.*

(g) *Ibid.*

was he so well assured of his Master's Love and Protection, as *Mucianus* was of *Vespasian's* ? *Rara avis in terris* ? It was this Assurance, that made *Mucianus* so bold and impudent as not to mind, and despise the People's Clamour and Hatred. Had *Vespasian* once withdrawn from him the Influence of his Favour and Protection, *Mucianus* then would have immediately felt the Effects of the public Odium, and fallen a Victim to the People's Rage, as *Sejanus* did under *Tiberius*. As for *Mucianus's* supplying with his own Money the Expences of the War, it is indeed a plain Instance of a prime Minister's public Spirit. He advanced Money out of his own Purse, in order to take a greater Sum out of the public Stock, (*b*) to reimburse himself. And this was but a true ministerial Trick, for by his Example many were induced to do the same (*i*) no doubt with the Hope of being reimbursed, with the like Advantage, but they found themselves mistaken at last. There were but few to whom that Liberty was allow'd ; and those, I do not question, were his chief Creatures. But how can this shameful Way of raising Money by the Oppression of the Subjects be excused, either in the Master, or the prime Minister ? I will not say, that it was against all Justice and Reason, and therefore unlawful on any Account whatsoever. If it was necessary for the Support

(*b*) *Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvit, largus privatim, quo avidius de Republica sumeret.* So I read this Passage, *in Tacit. loc. cit.*

(*i*) *Cæteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti, rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt.* *id.*

of a War, why was it continued after the War was ended, and Peace settled at home? Why were not those heavy Taxes, Duties, Tolls, and Tributes abolished, or at least diminished? Why did not those insufferable Extortions cease? (k) The Reason, I think, is very plain. The Interest of the Master, and his prime Minister went Hand in Hand; *Mucianus's* Zeal in promoting *Vespasian's* Cause against *Vitellius*, and seeing him settled on the *Roman* Throne, had no other Motive but his Ambition. He knew *Vespasian's* Temper too well, as to doubt of his having all the Power of the public Administration under him; and to be in fact the Emperor, while *Vespasian* had the Name of it. And indeed his Power and Way of living and acting were such. (l) *Vespasian*, on his Side, could not but favour and protect a Man, who had been so active in his Interest, and who had found Means how to indulge his violent Passion for Money, with a continual Supply of vast Sums, which he squeezed out of the Subjects by any unjust and scandalous Way; so that the Master found his Account in having such a prime Minister, as well as the Minister in having such a Master.

This, rather than good Nature, was the Reason why *Vespasian* was so kind and indulgent to him, gave him such an absolute Power, and so patiently bore his outrageous Manners, and infamous Life. He was (m) haughty and

(k) Quæ gravia, & intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere, *Id.*

(l) *V. Dio. l. 66.*

(m) *Dio. Tacit. Sueton.*

proud, expecting from every one to be respected and honoured above all ; insolent to the highest Degree, in particular to *Vespasian*, whom he look'd upon as a Companion in the Empire, boasting of his own Merit, and carry'd this Impudence so far as to write to the Senate, that he had the Empire in his Hand, but made a Present of it to *Vespasian*. He was of so revengeful a Temper, that People were more afraid of offending him than his Master ; a rapacious and tyrannical Minister, and a Man most infamous for a lewd and debauched Life. *Vespasian* in Truth had great Obligation to *Mucianus* for promoting and supporting his Election to the Empire, but yet *Mucianus's* Behaviour and Conduct towards him was such, that he should have lost all the Merit of what he had done for him.

But what can be said in *Vespasian's* Excuse for the immense Riches he got by the wicked and most scandalous Management of his favourite (n) Concubine *Cænis*, whom he had taken to Court, and lived with her as if she had been a lawful Wife. It was this cunning Woman that kept a public Sale of civil and military Places, of religious Preferments, of Pardons to Criminals, and even of the Emperor's Answers and Determinations ; disposing of them at an high Rate. *Vespasian* indeed did not appear to be concerned in this Traffick, but the Money going thro' her Hand, and his dirty Way of getting it being well known from other Instances, the People could not but think that what was done by so dear and intimate a Person to him as *Cænis* was by his Direction

(n) *Dio. l. cit.*

and Approbation. He could not at least have been ignorant of it, and she would not have done it, had she not been assured of her Power over him. And what Good can a People expect from a Court so corrupted? Or what can debase more a Prince, and make him despicable, than to be such a Slave to his Passion, as to let his Mistress have an Influence in what concerns the Disposal of Places? After all this, it will be asked, how it came to pass, that *Vespasian* was beloved both by the Senate and the People, and that he is commonly reckoned one of the best Emperors. The Question is easily answered, by considering, *First*, That he came to the Empire after it had been for the Space of many and many Years under the heavy Scourge of the most cruel and infamous Tyrants; to these if *Vespasian* be compared, what Praise, what Admiration does he not deserve!

Secondly. His many good Qualities, Qualities as most necessary to, so seldom to be found in Princes; and therefore by the People more valued and admired in them, than commonly in others. It was this Love and Admiration of his good Qualities that prevailed with the *Romans* against the Odium of his Vices. *Vespasian*, (o) far from being haughty and proud, was a Prince humble, affable, and familiar, of a free Access to all, at any Time, and received all in a Manner as if he had not been Emperor, but a private Man. In Conversation pleasant bearing to be rally'd, and answering with Reparties. He bore with the greatest Calmness the Liberty his Friends took with him in speaking their

(o) *Dio. Suet. Aurel. Victor, Eutrop. Tacit.*

Minds. In the like Manner he heard the Taunts and fly Reflections cast on him by the Advocates in their Pleadings, and despised the Insolence and the virulent Tongues of the Philosophers. He never shewed himself to be angry, or offended at anonymous Libels or Satires (then very much in Fashion against the Emperors) reflecting upon him; and far from inquiring after the Authors to punish them, he would answer with others in Defence of the contrary, and trouble himself no further with them. He was remarkable for Humanity and Greatness of Soul; forgetting Injuries, and never seeking to be revenged of his Enemies. No Man was put to Death by him unjustly, or on Suspicion and Fear he had of him; and even they that conspired against him suffered no other Punishment but to be banished. The public Affairs were not managed in a secret and mysterious Way, or by his absolute Power, but he always communicated them to the Senate, where he never failed to be present, when not hindered by some lawful Cause, and then he would communicate them in Writing, and make often his Sons read them to the Assembly; he shewed all the Marks of Honour and Respect to the Senators, and conversed with them very familiarly, inviting every Day many of them to his Table. He purged the Senate and the Equestrian Order of Persons unworthy of that Dignity, and he chose out of *Italy* and the Provinces Men of the greatest Merit to fill the vacant Places. He made excellent Laws for the Reformation of Manners; and his private Life was an Example of Frugality, which did more contribute to correct the *Roman* Luxury of a long Standing, than all the Laws made against it.

it. Not to mention the military Discipline, the Care of settling the State, that was in a deplorable Condition by what had been suffered under the former Emperors, with many other Particulars, I will come lastly to what concerns more the Point in Question. I mean his Liberality and Generosity worthy of a Prince. Tho' he was too greedy of Money, and gathered it in that most infamous and sordid Way we have mentioned before ; yet it cannot be said, that he was covetous, heaping up Riches for the only Sake of Money, or to enrich his Family ; neither that he did lavish them in his private Pleasures. No, he employ'd his Riches in the most prudent, generous, and princely Manner for the Benefit of the Public and the People. These Expences were very great and magnificent, his own but necessary and moderate. He adorned *Rome* with noble Edifices, he made Highways, and Aqueducts, and open'd Passages thro' Mountains and Rocks ; he repaired and beautify'd many Towns in all the Parts of the Empire, that had been almost ruined either by Earthquakes or Fire ; and all these Works at his own Cost, and without any Prejudice of the Inhabitants. And what I think he deserves most to be commended for, that in the Execution of the Works, he preferred the Advantage of the common People, to any Projects offered to him to save Expences, that more Workmen might get their Livelihood, by their being employ'd in them. He was very liberal towards all Sorts of People. He generously supply'd Men of Quality in Want to support the Dignity of their Rank ; and handsomely rewarded the good Poets, and Artificers excelling in their Handi-

Handicraft. In short, he was a mighty Encourager of Arts and Learning, and the first of the Emperors that appointed a Salary to the Rhetoric Masters either of *Greek* or *Latin* at *Rome*. Are we after all this to wonder, that *Vespasian* was so generally beloved? It is not a small Comfort to the Subjects when squeezed and oppressed with Duties, Taxes, &c. to see, that their Money is laid out for public Uses, and to their own, and not a foreign Nation's Profit, and that they are made Partakres of it by being employ'd in some Way or other, so that they might live well and support their Families. If Princes would follow *Vespasian's* Example in this, they would not hear so frequent Complaints of their Subjects for being too much charged with Taxes and Duties, &c. If no Reason and Justice, Policy at least should move them to act as *Vespasian* did. But I fear this Example is too old to be imitated in our Days. The common People, like Horses and other Animals for human Uses, will go thro' hard Works when their Masters do not starve and hardly treat them. I remember to have heard a Story of an ingenious Painter, who, to express the Difference of the Subjects Condition under a good and a bad Prince, made a Picture representing two Asses both charged with heavy Loads but one seemed to be in good Case, and the other very poor and weak, both in the Act of falling backward on their Legs by the Weight of the Charge. The Master of the first had taken Hold of his Ass's Tale, as helping him from not falling, and giving him Time to raise up himself; but the Master of the weak Ass looked to be angry, and was holding a

Stick

Stick in his Hand, as if he was beating the unfortunate Animal. The Painter, being asked the Meaning of the Picture, answered in a jocosé Way, Pray, Sir, (to his Friend, who had been asking him) supposing you were an Afs, whom of the two Masters here represented would you chuse to have? That to be sure, said he without Hesitation, pointing at the Master, that was helping his Afs to rise; tho' he has heavily charged his Afs, yet he takes some Care of him, and does not abuse and beat the poor Beast. Now, good Sir, reply'd the Painter, if you will be pleased to apply the Representation of the Picture to Subjects and Princes, you will soon understand the Meaning of it. This I have found to be true in fact. Some Years ago when I was in *Flanders*, I observed those Towns that were under the *French*, to be populous, and the Inhabitants by the Countenance appear'd to be easy and chearful; whereas the Towns under the *Germans* and the *Dutch* seemed to be less peopled, and the Inhabitants poor and dejected. I could not but wonder at this; and the more when I heard the People of those Towns that had been formerly under the *French*, to wish for them again; remembering how happier they were in those Times, and the Towns more peopled and rich. Talking with some of them upon the Subject, and inquiring into the Reason they had for preferring the *French* to the others, the Master of the House, where I lodged, very freely said to me; Sir, tho' the *French* are no better than the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, and perhaps worse, if you will, in that they are continually getting and squeezing out Money from us; yet for all this you know well the Genius of

I

that

that Nation : They love good Cheer, fine Dressing, Gaming, Assemblies, Comedies and Operas, in short, all Sorts of Diversions, which they cannot have without spending Money among us, and employing many Tradesmen and other People ; so that the Money they have taken from us, comes to us again, and by that Way we live, and by the continual Circulation of Money, we never want it ; whereas the *Germans* and the *Dutch* grow rich by us, and we get nothing, or very little from them ; living very frugally, and saving as much as they can, which is carried away out of ours into their own Country. In Conclusion, Sir, we chuse to be under the *French*, because if they live upon us we live upon them, and tho' we fill their Purse with our Money, yet we may say, we have at least a Finger in it.

Thus much can be said in Praise of *Vespasian*, which plainly shews he was not by Nature a covetous Man. As for the rest, let the Indigency of the public Treasury, and the Expences for the Support of the War and the State be as great as they will, no Prince can be justified or excused for raising Money from his Subjects by so unjust, sordid, and scandalous Means as *Vespasian* did. To administer Justice, to let the Law of the Country have its Course, to let the Subjects enjoy their Liberties, and live easy under the Government, is the indispensable Duty of a Prince, and the ultimate End of common Society. This is what makes the People truly happy, and the Prince beloved ; not the Greatness and Magnificence of public Buildings, Ornaments, and other Expences, whenever they cannot be supported without oppressing the Subjects. —

NUMBER XI.

The old Romans, &c.] Livy (a) has left us an Account of what passed in the Senate upon this Affair; but I do not find he mentions the Reason, why the Senate came to that Resolution of not making War against the *Rhodians*, which, I think, he should have done. The Motives and Reasons of human Actions, but more particularly of public ones, as the Decrees of a Senate, are the Soul of History, and without the Knowledge of them, History is but of little Use. *Livy* at least should have preserved us the famous Speech, that *M. Porcius Cato* made on this Occasion, perhaps by it we might have guessed at the Reason of the Senate's Resolution; since it was that Speech that the Cause of the *Rhodians* was most supported by. But to our Misfortune that Speech of *Cato* was so common in *Livy's* Time, that he thought himself dispensed with from the Labour of transcribing it in his History, referring the Reader to *Cato's* Book, intitled, *Originum*, wherein it was to be found. It seems very strange to me, that the Historians, whose chief End is to inform and instruct Posterity, and who above all should know how Things of this Nature, as well as others, are subject and exposed to the Injuries of Time, and Men's Neglect; yet they, I say, are very oft so careless, as to neglect to transmit to Posterity those remarkable

(a) *Lib. 45. c. 20. & seq.*

Monuments of great Men's Genius's, which would be not only curious but useful. And this they do upon no other Consideration, but because such Pieces were known and current at the Time when they writ; as if they were from it assured, that Posterity would have the same Advantage too. But to return to *Cato's* Speech. The few Fragments of it still remaining we owe to *A. Gellius's* Industry, who lays them down to vindicate *Cato* from *Tullius Tiro's* Objections against it. (b) In those Fragments we do not find any Trace, that could lead us to the guessing of the Senate's Reason for taking that Resolution; but only by what *A. Gellius* says in the Narrative of what gave Occasion to the Speech, we may fairly take a Hint of what *Cato* would have more insisted upon, to prevail upon the Senate for not declaring War; that is, the Design of many great Men to enrich themselves by the Spoils of the *Rhodians*. ' Sententiæ, ' are *Gellius's* Words, rogari ceptæ, cumque ' partim Senatorum de Rhodiensibus quererentur, ' maleque eos animatos fuisse dicerent, bellum- ' que eo illis faciendum censerent; tum M. Cato ' exsurgit, & optimos fidissimosque socios, quo- ' rum opibus diripendis possidendisque non pauci ' ex summatibus viris intenti infestique erant, de- ' fensum conservatumque pergit. We can hardly think such a Man as *Cato*, renowned not only for his Eloquence, but remarkable above all of his Time for Gravity, and the Strictness he exercised in the Censorship; such a Man, I say, we can hardly think, would have passed over a

(c) *Lib. 7. c. 3.*

Point so becoming to his Character to take Notice of, and that in all Probability would have much prevailed on the Mind of the sound Part of the Senators; and what is more, it would have exposed, and put to the Blush and Confusion those covetous and ambitious Men, by laying open the secret View they had in this Affair. Such a Reproach, from the Mouth of a Man of so great Authority as *Cato* was, could not but make a deep Impression upon them, and their Conscioufness would have abated not a little of that pretended Animosity against the *Rhodians*; particularly if we consider, that the *Romans* at that Time were not so corrupted as they were afterwards, when all Sense of Virtue and Shame was intirely lost. A true Mark of a near approaching Ruin of a free State.

But notwithstanding the Silence of *Livy*, what our Author advances of the Reason, that mov'd the Senate not to declare War against the *Rhodians*, is not of his own Imagination, but he had it from *Sallustius* in the History of the *Catalinarian* War. There *Cæsar*, in the Beginning of his Speech to the Senate, says. ‘ Magna mihi copia est memorandi, P. C. qui Reges
 ‘ aut qui Populi ira aut misericordia impulsi male
 ‘ consuluerint: Sed ea malo dicere, quæ Majores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque
 ‘ ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum
 ‘ Rege Perse gestimus, Rhodiorum Civitas magna, atque magnifica, quæ Populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit:
 ‘ Sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, Majores nostri ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriæ bellum inceptum diceret,
 ‘ impunitos eos dimisere.

Such

Such a Conduct of the *Roman* Senate can't be too much praised, or admired, and it ought to serve for an Example to others ; but this can't be expected wherein Corruption prevails. A strict and true Notion of the Honour of their Country is what guided and determined the *Roman* Senators to this Resolution. They were so jealous of it, that they would not suffer it to be exposed even to the least Shadow of Suspicion ; neither permit it to be abused by self-interested Men, who attempted under it to screen their covetous and ambitious Designs. What Excuse then can be made for *Livy* in passing over in Silence so noble and truly glorious a Motive, on which the *Roman* Senate would not declare War against the *Rhodians* ? Surely he is not so careless or envious an Historian as to omit what might add a Lustre to the Honour of his Country, or to deprive her of a due Glory. Shall we then say, that he thought by not mentioning it, the *Roman* Generosity in forgiving Injuries, and the Mildness, which the *Rhodians* were treated with by the Senate, was more glorious than the Motive of it ? Or rather that he would not let Posterity think, that in those happy Days of the Republic, so renowned for Virtue and Valour, the great Men, who were at the Helm of it, were corrupted with Self-interest and Ambition ? Certain it is, that in mentioning those, who were most against the *Rhodians*, he has not a Word of their Design and View. (c) ‘ Infestissimi
 ‘ Rhodiis erant, qui Consules, Prætoresve, aut
 ‘ Legati gesserant in Macedonia bellum. In-

(c) C. 25.—

deed he is not so reserved when he mentions the Prætor, of whom he says, that what he did was in View to have been chosen the Commander of that Expedition. (d) ‘ M. Juvencius ‘ Thalna Prætor—— Populum adversus Rhodios incitabat, rogationemque promulgaverat, ‘ ut Rhodiis bellum indiceretur : Et ex magistratibus ejus anni deligerent qui ad id bellum ‘ cum classe mitteretur ; se eum sperans futurum ‘ esse. But in Regard to the *Rhodians*, *Livy* not only mentions their unfair Conduct, not acting as it became Friends and Confederates of the *Romans*, but exaggerates the Pride and Haughtiness of their Proceeding. The *Rhodians*, in a former Embassy to *Rome*, in Order to persuade them to make Peace with *Perseus*, among other Things, they said, they had done the same Office with *Perseus*, concluding, (e) ‘ Per quos stetisset ‘ quo minus belli finis fieret, adversus eos quid ‘ sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos ‘ esse. Upon this *Livy* breaks out with the following Remark, a short but very expressive one. ‘ Ne nunc quidem hæc sine indignatione legi ‘ audirive posse certum habeo. Inde existimari ‘ potest, qui habitus animorum audientibus ea ‘ Patribus fuerit. The *Rhodians* Manner of Talking thus to the *Romans* at that Time is not be excused ; yet I cannot but think, that *Livy* by this Remark intended to make the Moderation and Mildness of the Senate in general towards the *Rhodians* to appear greater ; but more specially that of *Cato*, who afterwards, when a

(d) C. 22.

(e) Lib. 44. c. 14.

War against them was proposed in the Senate, declared himself against it, by defending the *Rhodian* Cause in a most eloquent and strong Manner, which contributed not a little to prevent the War. ‘ Plurimum, (f) says *Livy* on this Occasion, causam eorum adjuvit M. Porcius Cato ; qui asper ingenio, tum lentem mitemque Senatorem egit. But what could have been *Cato’s* Reason for acting at this Conjunction so contrary to his natural Severity ? Certainly he was not a Man less sensible of the Injuries and Affronts put upon his Country ; than the rest of the Senators. From whence now this Indulgence and Mildness of Temper in him ? Either he really thought the *Rhodians* did not deserve to be so much blamed and condemned, as was cry’d up by those designing Men : Or he took upon him the Defence of the *Rhodians* to oppose, and disappoint the sordid and self-interested Views of those chief Promoters of the War. Views that would have then exposed the *Roman* Greatness to the Censure of other Nations, and encouraged Corruption and Vice for the future, and brought on at last the Ruin of the Republic : to covet after Power and Riches being the greatest Evil in a free Government. But let the Reason be what it will, we can’t but think, that *Cato* acted in this Affair as it became a true Patriot, and uncorrupted Senator ; opposing Vice, and protecting Virtue.

This Example of the *Romans* ought to open the Eyes of every Nation, not to engage themselves in a War without considering and search-

(f) *Lib.* 45. c. 25.

ing before-hand into the true Motives of those, who are most zealous and violent for it; whether their Motives are really, as they pretend, the Safety, Honour, and Interest of the Public, or not rather their own particular Views of enriching themselves, and keeping the Power in their Hands. Many Wars have been promoted, and Treaties of Peace rejected on that Account by the Intrigues and Cabals of a Party, against the real Interest of the Nation, which at last, but too late, by feeling the dire Effects of a long and expensive War, was convinced it had been deluded into it.

I'll only remark one Thing more, which is, that by the bad Advice, and the Indiscretion in speaking of some of the *Rhodians*, hot-headed and stirring Men among the common People, the whole Nation became exposed to the Reproaches of not keeping Faith, of double Dealing, and the like; (*b*) and what was the worst to the Resentment of the *Romans*, which would have fallen very heavy upon them, had not the Wisdom, Eloquence, and Authority of *Cato* prevented the War. ‘*Quid igitur?*’ said *Astymedes*, the *Rhodian* Legate, in his Speech to the Senate, for the Excuse of their Conduct, ‘*Nihil ne factum neque dictum est in civitate vestra, Rhodij, quod nolletis, quo merito offenderetur Populus Romanus?*’ Hinc jam non

(*b*) *Rhodium* Civitas infida, atque adversa nobis fuit. In the above quoted Passage of *Sallustius*. — *Rhodij* quoque fidelissimi antea Romanis, tum dubia fide speculati fortunam, prouiores Regis partibus fuisse visi sunt — *Vell. Paterculus*, *l.* 1. *c.* 9. And what is said of them in *Livy*.

‘ quod factum est, defensusurus sum, non adeo in-
 ‘ sanio : Sed publicam causam à privatorum
 ‘ culpa segregaturus. *Nulla enim est Civitas,*
 ‘ *quæ non & improbos cives aliquando, & impe-*
 ‘ *ritam multitudinem semper habeat.* (A Sen-
 tence worthy to be writ in golden Letters) Etiam
 ‘ apud vos fuisse audiui, qui assentando multitu-
 ‘ dini grassarentur : Et secessisse aliquando a vo-
 ‘ bis plebem, nec in potestate vestra Rempubli-
 ‘ cam fuisse. Si hoc in tam bene morata Civi-
 ‘ tate accidere potuit, mirari quisquam potest
 ‘ aliquos fuisse apud nos, qui Regis amicitiam
 ‘ petentes plebem nostram consiliis depravarent ?
 ‘ Qui tamen nihil ultra valuerunt, quam ut in
 ‘ officio cessaremus. — From this Case of the
Rhodians, we may learn how mischievous and
 dangerous are to the true Interest, Honour, and
 Safety of a Country the Advices of such Poli-
 ticians ; especially when they are at the Head of
 a Party.

N U M B E R X I I .

The most severe Laws have been made by the
Ancients, &c.] By the Law of the twelve
 Tables, a Judge, convicted of having taken Mo-
 ney for his Sentence, was punished with Death.
 (a) Did the *Romans* model this Law after the
 Example of *Cambyses* King of *Persia*, in putting
 to Death *Sisammes* one of his Judges for the same
 Crime ? The Conjecture is not altogether impro-
 bable,

(a) Related by *A. Gellius*, l. 20. c. 1.

bable, according to a famous *Civilian*. (*b*) This Law grew afterwards obsolete, because it was looked upon as too severe. But can Death be thought to be too severe a Punishment for a Judge, who against all divine and human Laws sells his Conscience, and his Oath of doing Justice? Who betrays for Money that sacred Trust put in him to the Protection of Crimes, and the Oppression of his Fellow-Subjects? (*c*) No, when this Law was made, the *Romans* had a better Notion of Justice and Virtue, than to think it too severe; but when Corruption of Manners begun to creep in among them, it was then, that the Crime appeared to them less heinous, and consequently its Punishment too severe. It is this altering the Notion of Virtue and Justice, that will bring at last a Nation to Ruin, if not timely corrected. But tho' this Law of the twelve Tables was abrogated, yet Corruption in Judges and other Magistrates was always reckoned by the Law a great Crime, and punished either with Fine, Infamy, Loss of all Goods, Transportation into an Island, Banishment, and even with corporal Punishment, and

K 2

Death

(*b*) *Balduinus ad leg. 12. Tab. l. 51.* Factum id est vivente adhuc Athenis Solone, Romæ imperante Tarquinio Superbo, vix octoginta annis ante Decemviros; ejus itaque & hi meminisse potuerant, ejusque etiam memoria & exemplo commoveri.

(*c*) An judicis (says *Cæcilius* in *A. Gellius loc. cit.*) illius perfidiam contra omnia jura divina atque humana jusjurandum suum pecunia vendentis — Non dignam esse capitis poena existimes?

Death according to its Quality. (d) And considering how much the Administration of Justice concerns the whole Society, the Law gave Power to any one to accuse a Magistrate Guilty of Corruption on any Account whatsoever, either whilst in Office or after. (e) In order to which he was by the Law oblig'd under Penalty at the End of his Administration not to leave the Country, wherein he had exercised his Office, but to continue there for fifty Days appointed to hear any Complaint or Accusation brought by the People against him. (f) And indeed what greater Evil can there be in a Government, than to let such a Corruption in Magistrates go unpunished? What Difference then would be between Justice and Robbery? (g) If they do not deserve a worse Name than Robbers, as by the Law they are called. *Judices fures.*

How happy would it be for a Nation to have a Prince so averse to corrupted Magistrates, as the

(d) *Lex Julia, lex Cornelia, and others. V. Sigon. de Ant. jur. P. R. lib. 2. c. 27. Anton. Augustinus de leg. & senatuscons.—D. ad l. Jul. repetund.—C. de pæn. Judic. qui male Judicar. & ibi Commentatores — Justinian. novel. 8. c. 8. §. si quis.*

(e) *L. Jubeamus C. ad L. Jul. repetund. Institut. l. 4. de public. Judic.*

(f) *C. ut omnes Judices tam civil. quam militar. post administrat. deposit. 50 dies in Civitat. vel cert. loc. permaneant. Confirmed by Justin, Novel. 95 & 161. which Regulation was formerly observed in France by the Testimony of Bugnonius, des loix abrégées, p. 16.*

(g) *Et quæ tandem major esse potest in Republica pestis, quam si tales corruptelæ impune grassentur? Quid a latrociniiis Judicia differrent? Balduin. l. c.*

the Emperor *Alexander Severus* was. (b) It is related by an Historian, who was very familiarly acquainted with him, that if he had at any Time seen a Judge convicted of Corruption, he would hold up his Finger as if he would bore out his Eye. Hence *Balduinus* takes Occasion to reflect upon the Corruption of the Judges in his Time, with the following sharp but merry Expression. (i) *But how many Fingers would Alexander want now? when if he had an hundred Hands, as the Poets feign of Briareus, he would not have Fingers enough.* He might have added too, what *Septimius* another Historian reported of the same *Alexander* to this Purpose, viz. (k) He had such an Indignation against those Judges, that were only suspected of Corruption, that if by Chance he did see any of them, he would be in so great an Emotion, that he would vomit Choler, and his Face be all in a Flame for Rage, so that he was not able to speak a Word. (l) And he ordered by a Proclamation, that none should come into his Presence, who was conscious to himself, that his Character was not clear in that Particular,

(b) *Encolpius apud Lamprid. in Vita Alex.* Illum si unquam furem judicem vidisset, paratum habuisse digitum, ut illi oculum erueret, tantum odium tenebat eorum de quibus apud se probatum esset, quod fures fuissent.

(i) At quot nunc digitis opus haberet Alexander? Non si centimanus esset, quelem Poetæ suum Briareum fingunt, esset satis. *Balduin. l. cit.*

(k) Addit *Septimius*—tanti stomachi fuisse Alexandrum in eos Judices, qui furtorum fama laborassent, etiam si damna non essent, ut si eos casu aliquo videret, commotione animi, stomachi choleram evomeret, toto vultu inardescente; ita ut nihil posset loqui. *apud eund. Lamprid. l. c.*

(l) Per præconem edixit, ut nemo salutaret Principem, qui se furem esse nosset, ne aliquando detectus capitali supplicio subderetur. *Idem Lamprid. l. c.*

lar ; lest he, being afterwards discovered to be such, should undergo a capital Punishment. But *Alexander Severus* is too particular an Instance to meet with the like. The Stomachs of Princes are generally too strong to be moved at the Sight of corrupted Magistrates ; and should they revive the same Proclamation, their Courts would not be so splendid and numerous as they are.

N U M B E R XIII.

William King of Sicily, surnamed the Good, &c.] As his Father *William* the First, for his Cruelty and Avarice, deserved of his Subjects the Name of *the Bad*, *Il Cattivo*, *il Malo* ; so his Son *William* the Second, who succeeded him, for his good Qualities and Actions, acquired the Name of *the Good*, *Il Buono*. So true it is that often, (a)

*Degenerant nati Patribus, vincuntque Parentes,
Ingeniumque suum retinent.*

Tho' to degenerate for the worse is more commonly observed in the Sons of great and excellent Men, than the contrary. (b) *Fazello* and *Costanzo*, two noted Historians of *Sicily*, who have given us a full Account of this King's Life, make no mention of this Act of his exemplary Justice ; neither have I been able to find out from whence our Author had it.

As for the King of *Persia* here mentioned, *Herodotus* (c) informs us, that it was *Cambyfes*, the

(a) *Manil. l. 4. v. 77.*

(b) *V. Spartian. in Vit. Sever.*

(c) *L. 5. n. 25 & 26.*

the Judge condemned *Sisamnes*, and his Son *Otanes*. This Manner of putting People to Death, viz. to flea them alive, was customary among the *Persians*. (d) But we cannot say, that it was the ordinary Punishment for corrupt Judges, since by the Testimony of the same *Herodotus*, (e) *Darius* condemned *Sandoces*, one of his Judges, for the same Crime to be crucified. But *Cambyses's* Example was followed by *Artaxerxes*, (f) with three corrupt Judges, by fleaing them alive, and spreading their Skins upon the Judgment-Seats, on which their Successors were to sit. So that *Ammianus Marcellinus* cannot be excused for questioning the Fact by saying, (g) ‘*Nam quod supersedere corio damnati Judicis Judex alius cogeatur, aut finxit vetustas, aut olim recepta consuetudo cessavit.*’ That this Custom was not observed in his Time, we may believe him; but that the Thing was never practised, *aut finxit vetustas*, is what he would not have said, had he been acquainted with the ancient History of *Persia*.

In latter Times I find *Meemet* the Second, he that took *Constantinople*, to have dealt with a *Cadi* (Judge) convicted of having sold Justice more than once, after the same Manner, that *Cambyses* did with *Sisamnes* and *Otanes*. (h) He flea'd the Judge alive, and appointed that the Son

(d) *V. Briffon. de regno Persar. l. 2. no. 217.*

(e) *L. 7.*

(f) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 15.*

(g) *L. 23. circa finem.*

(h) *Theod. Spandugino Comment. della Orig. de Principi Turchi, l. 1. p. 68.*

Son, who succeeded him in the Post, should sit on his Father's Skin spread on a Tapestry ; and at the installing of him, told him, being in the Posture of a condemned Man. *' Mind well what I say, as I have flea'd alive your Father, so you may assure yourself I'll do to you, if you do not observe Justice.*

N U M B E R X I V .

Aurelian was a very great Emperor, &c.] The Severity of *Aurelian* in punishing Crimes was such, that made him pass for a cruel, fierce, and sanguinary Man ; (a) and I do not doubt he was by his Temper inclined to Cruelty, in so much that even many of those, who acknowledge the Advantages and Glory the *Roman* Empire acquired by his extraordinary Valour, and Severity of Discipline, will not reckon him either among the good nor the bad Princes, because he wanted Clemency, the first and distinguishing Virtue of a Prince. (b)

Indeed a rigid and severe Prince, tho' he in other Respects be a most excellent one, yet will never gain the general Love of the Subjects. And as such a Prince is more necessary to a Nation brought low, and plunged into Corruption by

(a) *Aurelianus quod negari non potest severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit Princeps. Vepisc. in vita. In the same Manner Eutropius. Sævus & sanguinarius — animi immodici, & ad crudelitatem propensioris — and Aurel. Viâ. fuit sævus & sanguinarius, & trux omni tempore.*

(b) *Aurelianum multi neque inter bonos, neque inter malos Principes ponunt idcirco, quod ei clementia Imperatorum dos prima defuerit. Vepisc. l. c.*

by the Neglect of the Law, and Want of good Discipline, so the more he is exposed to the Ill-will, and Odium of the common People, who seduced by Ignorance and Licentiousness, not considering the publick Good, look upon Virtue and Discipline as Cruelty and Tyranny. This was *Aurelian's* Case ; so that it is no Wonder he was not generally beloved, but feared, and consequently hated and blamed as too cruel and sanguinary, tho' a very great Emperor.

(c) I do not pretend to justify all his Actions, and clear him from the Imputation of Cruelty ; but I may venture to say, that considering the Corruption of those Times both in the Army and civil Administration, we cannot but confess, that it was a great Happiness for the *Roman* State to have had such a Man as *Aurelian* at the Head of it, in order to preserve it. Those very Historians, that give him the Character of a cruel, fierce and, sanguinary Man, acknowledge nevertheless at the same Time the good Effects his Cruelty produced. It was by the severe and exemplary Punishments that he kept the Army in good Order and Discipline ; having struck such a Terror on the Soldiers, that after a Fault had been once chastised, it was never committed again.

(d) He punished in the same Manner secret and
L
public

(c) *Timeri cœpit, says the same Author, Princeps optimus, non amari. Quum alii dicerent perodiendum talem Principem non optandum : Alii bonum quidem Medicum sed mala ratione curantem.*— I read here *Perodiendum* instead of *Perfodiendum*. *V. Salmas. in Notis ad h. l. & Voss. de Vitiis Lat. Serm. l. 4. c. 15.*

(d) *Fuit*—Severitatis immensæ, disciplinæ singularis—*Militibus ita timori fuit, ut sub eo posteaquam semel cum*
genti

public Informers ; (e) but above all, he spared no Torments nor Punishments against corrupt and rapacious Governors, and Officers of the Provinces. (f) And to show that he had Regard to no Person, and to give Example to others from his own Family, he chastised his Slaves and Domesticks severely, and many of them as Criminals he gave up to public Justice to be try'd by the Law. (g) By this Means he corrected in great part the dissolute and debauched Manners then reigning. ‘ *Dissolutorum morum magna ex parte corrector* ; as *Eutropius* says of him. If so rigid and severe a Conduct could not intirely reform the Abuses and Corruptions, must we think a mild and gentle one would have done it? No ; the *Roman State* was then in such a Condition, that it was in need of such an Emperor like *Aurelian*, (b) who by making wholesome Laws, keeping a strict Discipline, and striking Terror with the Severity of Punishments, could keep the State in Order ; which he effectually did, having purged the Em-

ingenti severitate castrensia peccata correxit, nemo peccaverit. *Id. Vopisc. l. c.* — *Disciplinæ militaris, & morum dissolutorum magna ex parte corrector. Eutrop. in Vit. Aurel. l. 9.*

(e) *Quadruplatores ac delatores ingenti severitate persecutus est. Id. Vopisc.*

(f) *Fures provinciales repetundarum ac peculatus reos ultra militarem modum est persecutus ut eos ingentibus suppliciis, cruciatibusque puniret. Id. & Aurel. Vict.*

(g) *Servos & Ministros peccantes coram se cædi jubebat — multos servos e familia propria qui peccaverant, legibus audiendos judiciis publicis dedit. Vopisc.*

(b) *Aureliano, Principi necessario magis quam bono Vopisc. — Necessarius magis in quibusdam quam in ullo amabilis Imperator. Eutrop. l. c.*

Empire of all that was wicked, abominable, and mischievous, of Divisions and Factions, and what disturbed the public as well as the private Peace. (i) Who can after this blame *Aurelian* for his Severity, and charge him with Cruelty, and Thirst of human Blood? In this View we ought to consider *Aurelian's* Severity, which could not but have appeared greater, than it really was; so as to be reputed an Excess of Cruelty by the greatest Part of the People of that corrupt Age, and therefore he was look'd upon as a Man unfit for it, that is to say, he would not condescend to be corrupted as they were. It was on this Consideration that the Emperor *Valerian* would not intrust his Son *Gallienus*, and the Army to his Care and Direction, preferring *Posthumus* to him. (k) But nothing can convince us better of how much Good *Aurelian's* Severity was for the *Roman* Empire, than the Sentiment the Senate, the People, and the Army expressed at his Death, and the Honours paid to his Memory. The Good is never known but when it is lost, according to that *Italian* Saying,

Non si conosce il ben se non si perde.

The Senate was very sensible of the Loss of so great a Prince; but much more was the People,
 L 2 who

(i) Quicquid sane scelerum fuit, quicquid malæ conscientiæ. vel etiam funestorum, quicquid denique factionum *Aurelianus* toto penitus orbe purgavit. *Vopisc.*

(k) See *Valerian's* Letter to the Consul *Antonius Gallus* on this Subject, reported by *Vopisc.* Among the rest he says of *Aurelian*, *Nimius est, multus est, gravis est, & ad nostra am non facit tempora.*

who would openly call him, *The Tutor and Instructor of the Senate*. The Army buried him with magnificent Pomp, and a stately Monument, and a Temple was erected, and dedicated to his Name, even by those, by whose Hands he had been slain, repenting of what they had done, and blaming their Credulity imposed on by the false Suggestion of one wicked Man ; and at the Army's Request to the Senate he was consecrated a God, and by his Successor Statues were dedicated to him. (l) Besides what greater Proof can be given of the Advantages and Good the *Roman* Empire reaped from *Aurelian's* Conduct in governing, than to consider how after his Death, when the Empire continued for several Months without any Prince, or absolute Magistrate at the Head of it (an unparallel'd Interregnum taken Notice of by the Historians) (m) How, I say, all that while the *Roman* State enjoy'd a perfect Calm, without the least Commotion of Change or Disorder. Peace and Obedience among the People, and a perfect Harmony in the Army, and a respected Authority in the Senate ; so that in so favourable a Conjunction for ambitious Men to invade the Government, yet none was found so bold, as to make such an Attempt, or shew by any Way his Inclination to it. And what was more surprizing, the prudent and modest Behaviour both of the Senate and the Army, and the Deference they pay'd each other in the Choice of a Person, that deserved to succeed *Aurelian*. From whence all this
Tran-

(l) *V. Vopisc. and Zosim. l. 1. in Aurel.*

(m) *Vopisc. in Tacit. Aurel. Vict.*

Tranquillity, Concord, and Order in so dangerous a Time for the *Roman* Empire, but from *Aurelian's* Severity and Discipline ? It was this that had wrought so good a Disposition of Mind in every Part of the State, as to know and do their Duty, and as *Vopiscus* says, to fear themselves. (n) Nothing can be said more glorious of a Prince, than what *Aurelius Victor* says of *Aurelian* in the Character he gives of him, and which confirms what I have said concerning his Severity. ‘ *Tantum ille vir severitate atque*
‘ *incorruptis artibus potuit, ut facinorosis exitio ;*
‘ *pravis metui ; securitati bonis ; optimo cuique*
‘ *desiderio ; nemini insolentiæ atque ostentationi*
‘ *esset.* (o)

(n) Ergo quod rarum & difficile fuit S. P. Q. R. perpes-
sus est, ut imperatorem per sex menses, dum bonus quæritur,
Respublica non haberet. Quæ illa concordia Militum ?
quanta Populi quies ? quam gravis Senatus autoritas fuerit ?
nullus usquam Tyrannus emerfit ; sub judicio Senatus & Mi-
litum, Populique R. totus orbis est temperatus, non illi
Principem quemquam ut recte facerent, non tribunitiam po-
testatem formidabant, sed quod est in Vita optimum, se
timebant.

(o) Thus I have taken the Liberty to correct the Passage,
which according to the common Reading is very corrupted.
Ut ejus necis auctoribus exitio ; pravis metui, simulata dubiis,
&c.

NUMBER XV.

That King of Cyprus, &c.] The Character of this King of *Cyprus* our Author had from *Boccace*, in the 9th *Novel* of the first Day of his *Decamerone*. *Boccace* does not mention his Name, but only says, he was the first King of *Cyprus* after the Taking of *Jerusalem* by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*; from whence we may conclude, that it was *Guy de Luzignan*, or *Luzignen*, or *Lusignan*, (thus variously this Name is written) who first took the Title of King of that Island, (a) which he had bought from King *Richard* the First of *England*, on Condition he renounced to him all the Rights and Pretensions he had to the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which he had been dispossess'd of by *Saladin*. But the Character of *Guy de Luzignan*, by what I can find in History, does not answer the Character of this King of *Cyprus*; so that we must suppose that *Boccace* either took this Account from a common Report, or that he had some other Prince in View, whom not willing to name, he described him as the first King of *Cyprus*; or perhaps the whole Narration was a pure Invention of his. But let that be as it will, the Contents of the *Novel* is as follows. ‘ A Gentlewoman of *Gascony* coming back from *Jerusalem*, where she
‘ had been in Pilgrimage to visit the Holy Sepulchre, in her Way landed in *Cyprus*, there
‘ she met with very outrageous Treatment from
‘ some

(a) This happened in 1191–92.

‘ some villainous, wicked Fellows ; for which
 ‘ she intended to lay her Complaints before the
 ‘ King to have them punished : But she was
 ‘ told, he lived a slothful Life, and was so in-
 ‘ dolent, that he not only did not punish the
 ‘ Injuries done to others, but in a most shame-
 ‘ ful Manner patiently bore even his own. The
 ‘ Woman hearing this, and despairing to obtain
 ‘ Justice from the King, nevertheless she re-
 ‘ solved to go to him, with no other Design
 ‘ than to tax him in a sharp, but modest Man-
 ‘ ner with the miserable Condition he was in
 ‘ by his slothful Way of Living. According
 ‘ to this Resolution she presented herself to the
 ‘ King, and told him, she was not come into
 ‘ his Presence to implore Justice for the Wrong
 ‘ done to her, but only to beg, he would teach
 ‘ her how to bear Injuries ; having been inform-
 ‘ ed, he bore them very easily : That by his In-
 ‘ struction she might also bear her own, which,
 ‘ had it been possible, she would have willingly
 ‘ made over to him, who was so patient in
 ‘ bearing his own. At these Words the King,
 ‘ as awakened from a Sleep, begun from that
 ‘ Time to punish very severely them, that did
 ‘ any Thing against the Honour of his Crown ;
 ‘ giving the first Example of his Severity, by
 ‘ punishing those Villains, who had injured and
 ‘ abused this Gentlewoman.

Such an Impression can a modest Reproach,
 when used at a proper Time, make on the
 Mind of a mistaken Prince in his Conduct, as to
 render him sensible of his Error, and to dispose
 him to take a better Course. Would a Prince’s
 Minister and Favourite, whenever Necessity re-
 quires it, take the same Liberty with his Master
 that

that this Stranger Woman did with the King of *Cyprus*, he would act more according to his Duty, than by flattering and indulging his Passions and Inclinations ; which will confirm him in the wrong Way he has taken to the Prejudice both of the Subjects, and his own Reputation.

N U M B E R X V I.

The Emperor Nero, &c.] Sueton. c. 32.
 ‘ Nulli delegavit officium, ut non adjiceret.
 ‘ Scis quid mihi opus sit, & hoc agamus, ne
 ‘ quis quidquam habeat — *Nero* was an unparalleled Tyrant, a Tyrant above all Shame, and without any Conduct. His Passions were let loose to the absolute Disposal of Youth and Power. The greater were the Extravagances of his Tyranny, the greater he thought was his Glory. Had not he been such, he would have been more reserved in declaring his Mind so freely to those, whom he employed in public Charges. It would have been enough to have chose Persons fit, and disposed to plunder the People without any further Instruction. Persons of such a Disposition there are never wanting in a Government. His rapacious and tyrannical Ways of raising Money was so well known, that whoever accepted any Employment under him, could not be ignorant of what he ought to do in order to please him. The Choice of Persons, who are to be intrusted with the public Administration is the Touch-stone, by which the Subjects will judge of their Prince’s Character, and his private Views ; which when once manifested

nifested, a Minister cannot but understand the Reason, why he has been chosen to that Post, and will act accordingly. The Choice itself carrying along with it the Condition, upon which it is made ; and tho' not expressed in Words, it will be easily understood both by the Chooser and the Chosen.

N U M B E R XVII.

Alexander Mamæa, *who put to a public Death, and that by Smoak, Turinus his chief Favourite, &c.*] *Alexander Severus* is commonly called by the Name of his Mother *Mamæa*, or *Mammæa*, as well on Account of the great Respect he paid to her (who had taken particular Care of his Education) as of the superior Influence she had over him. We have in another Place taken Notice of the peculiar Aversion this truly great Emperor had for corrupt Judges, and public Officers, that oppressed the People. What our Author mentions here of him is relating to his Favourites.

The Conduct and Fall of *Vetronius Turinus*, the Wisdom of *Alexander* in the Manner of discovering his ill Practices, and the Punishment he inflicted on him may serve for an Example to Ministers and Favourites not to abuse the Prince's Favour, and the Trust put in them ; and likewise to Princes to be very cautious in choosing such Persons, that are deserving of their Favour, and Confidence ; to be watchful on their Conduct, and to punish and reward them accordingly ; lest they themselves, as well as their Subjects, should suffer by the Artifices

M of

of their Favourites. I think therefore a full Account of such an Example to be worth the Reader's Attention, which I shall give in the Words of the Learned Dr. *Wotton*, (a) as described by *Lampridius*. (b)

‘ *Turinus* was a Man, whom *Alexander* had
 ‘ received into his Familiarity so far, that he
 ‘ pretended no Man had so great an Interest
 ‘ with the Emperor as himself. He offered
 ‘ his Service to any-body for Money to solli-
 ‘ cite the Emperor for them ; and drove so in-
 ‘ famous a Trade, that it reflected upon *Alex-*
 ‘ *ander*, whom the World believed to be very
 ‘ weak, otherwise they could not imagine that
 ‘ *Turinus* would so long be suffered ; for what
 ‘ they so publicly complained of could not, as
 ‘ they thought, be a Secret at Court. At last
 ‘ *Alexander* began to suspect him, but not being
 ‘ willing to punish him without certain Evidence,
 ‘ took this Method to find him out. He or-
 ‘ dered one whom he could confide in, to ask a
 ‘ Boon of himself in public, and then command-
 ‘ ed him to desire *Turinus* to use his Interest
 ‘ privately with the Emperor, and to second his
 ‘ Petition at a fitting Opportunity. *Turinus*
 ‘ willingly promised his Assistance ; and when
 ‘ the Petitioner came again, tho’ he had never
 ‘ mentioned the Man’s Case to the Emperor,
 ‘ yet he told him he had, and did not question
 ‘ Success ; and upon that Hope demanded a
 ‘ Sum of Money for his Pains, if he could pro-
 ‘ cure

(a) In his *History of Rome from the Death of Antoninus Pius*, &c. p. 464.

(b) In *Vita Alexand. Sev. inter. Hist. Aug. Script.*

‘ cure the Thing, which the Man sued for.
 ‘ This Demand the Petitioner agreed to before
 ‘ Witness, and acquainted the Emperor with it,
 ‘ who immediately gave him the Thing, which
 ‘ he was commanded to put in for at first. *Tu-*
 ‘ *rinus* then came upon him for the Money, that
 ‘ was agreed upon between them; telling the
 ‘ Man, that it was his Interest that got him his
 ‘ Request, tho’ at the same Time *Turinus* had ne-
 ‘ ver spoken a Word in his Behalf to the Em-
 ‘ peror, as the Petitioner well knew. Upon *Tu-*
 ‘ *rinus*’s Demand, the Money was paid by the
 ‘ Petitioner before Witness, and the whole Evi-
 ‘ dence was laid before the Emperor. *Alexan-*
 ‘ *der* then had Proof enough to convict him;
 ‘ but resolving to make him an effectual Exam-
 ‘ ple to deter any-body else from ever using the
 ‘ Emperor’s Name to such a Purpose, he com-
 ‘ manded Enquiry to be made into the former
 ‘ Behaviour of *Turinus*. And when he found
 ‘ that *Turinus* made a common Practice of taking
 ‘ Money on both Sides, especially of those who
 ‘ wanted Governments and Presidentships of
 ‘ Provinces, which had an Influence upon the
 ‘ Administration of Justice throughout the Em-
 ‘ pire, he commanded him to be tied to a Stake
 ‘ in the *Forum Transitorium*, where all the Ci-
 ‘ ty might see him as they past by, whilst the
 ‘ Crier made this Proclamation, *Let him perish*
 ‘ *by Smoak, that sold it.*

NUMBER XVIII.

The Emperor Tiberius never did any Thing, that pleased so much the Roman People, as the condemning to Death Sejanus, &c.] The Marks of the great Satisfaction the People of Rome had in the Fall of *Sejanus* were seen in the Manner how they treated him, and his Body after Death. As soon as *Sejanus* was arrested, in his Way to the Prison they insulted him with Reproaches, Curses, and a thousand Indignities; not permitting him to cover his Face, and even buffeted him. Pulled down and broke in Pieces his Statues, and with Fury dragged them along the Streets; after the same Manner did they drag his dead Body for three Days, and at last threw it into the *Tiber*. The Observation of *Dion Cassius* in the Description of *Sejanus's* Fall deserves to have a Place here. (a) ‘ Is
 ‘ vero casus humanam imbecillitatem egregie ob
 ‘ oculos ponit, monetque nusquam inflare se
 ‘ gerere. Quem enim mane, ut præstantiorem
 ‘ se, universi ad curiam comitati fuere, tunc
 ‘ quasi nequaquam se meliorem, in carcerem rap-
 ‘ puerunt: Quem coronis ante dignati fuerant,
 ‘ ei tum vincula induxerunt: Quem tanquam
 ‘ Dominum stipaverant, eum fugitivi instar cu-
 ‘ stodierunt, tegimenque obvelanti sese, detraxe-
 ‘ runt: Quem veste purpura prætexta ornave-
 ‘ rant, ei caput verberabant: Cui genua flexe-
 ‘ rant, ac ut Deo sacrificaverant, eum tum ad
 ‘ mortem duxerunt. The Senate, to shew how

(a) *Lib. 58. p. 628.*

sensible they were of the Deliverance from so bad
 a Minister, voted that none should mourn for
 him, the Statue of Liberty to be set up in the
Forum, and what was never known before, a
 Festival Day to be kept for it by the Authority
 of all the Magistrates and Pontiffs; and every
 Year upon the Day of *Sejanus's* Death a Festi-
 val to be celebrated with public Sports, &c.
 Yet this very Senate, that now in such an extra-
 ordinary Manner was rejoicing for *Sejanus's*
 Death, that had arrested and condemned him;
 this very Senate, I say, the same Day he was
 arrested, before *Tiberius's* Letter was read,
 praised, and flatter'd him with good Wishes
 and Acclamations; thinking the Letter contained
 his Advancement to the Dignity and Office of
 the Tribune, by which they promised themselves
 great Hopes, and were so sure of the Success,
 that they would boast of what they were to re-
 ceive from him, as if they had been actually in
 Possession of it. But as soon as the Contents of
 the Letter were known, he was immediately
 abandoned by all; every one shewing his Aver-
 sion for him: Infomuch, that those wretched
 Sycophants his Creatures, who sat near him, at
 the hearing of the Letter, left their Places, as a
 Declaration, that they had nothing to do with
 so infamous a Person. — Such is the Conduct
 of a corrupt Senate. *Sejanus's* Fall ought to be
 an instructive Lesson for a Minister of State.
 He'll learn by it to behave himself with Modesty
 and Humility, not with Pride and Insolence.
 How little he is to depend on his Master's Fa-
 vour and Protection: How less to trust to his
 Friends and Creatures: And how dangerous it is
 to incur the common People's Displeasure and
 hatred.

N U M B E R X I X .

*The Hatred the People of Florence had for the Duke of Athens, &c.] Gualtieri or Gualtiero in Italian, the same with the French, Gautier, and the English, Walter. This and not Ugo, as Summonte calls him, (a) was the Name of this Duke of Athens. He was the Sixth of that Name Count of Brienne, a Town of Champagne in France, which with the Title of Count gave the Name to that most noble and ancient Family. (b) The Italian Writers call it Brenna (c) by a Corruption of the French Brienne, or the Latin Brienna. He is by the Historians more commonly styled Duke of Athens. That Dukedom had by Marriage descended from the Family *de la Roche* to that of *Brienne*, but they were dispossessed of the Dominion; so that *Gualtieri* was in reality but a titular Duke of *Athens*. He was brought up at the Court of *Robert King of Naples*, to whom he was related, and by whom he was twice sent to *Florence* on the following Occasions.*

In the Year 1326, the *Florentines* were much infested by *Castruccio Castracani*, Sovereign of *Lucca*, a warlike and ambitious Man, and a powerful Enemy, who the Year before had defeated their Army. In this State of Affairs

(a) *Hist. di Napolit. l. 3. in the Life of King Robert.*

(b) *V. Moreri Artic. Brienne.*

(c) I find it also writ *Brenda* by Mistake, if 'tis not a Fault of the Press.

they resolved to put themselves under a Prince, in order to be better able by his Conduct and Management to withstand *Castruccio*, and to defend and secure their Territory against his Power and Attempts. *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, King *Robert's* Son, was at that Time a most renowned Prince for his Virtue and good Qualities. Him they chose for their Master on certain Conditions agreed upon, that the Liberty of the Government might be preserved. The Duke *Charles*, being then taken up in raising an Army to carry on the War against *Sicily*, could not immediately go to *Florence*; but to lose no Time to accept so honourable and advantageous an Offer, the King his Father sent *Gualtieri* in the Duke's Name to take Possession of the Government, with Power to act as Deputy in his Son's Absence. In that short Time of his Administration (the Duke of *Calabria* coming soon after) he discharged his Commission and Duty in so discreet and moderate a Manner, as to gain the general Approbation and Affection of the *Florentines*, leaving behind him at his Departure a good Opinion of his Wisdom and Prudence. The Death of *Castruccio Castracani*, which happened in 1328, delivered *Florence* from the Fear and Jealousy of that formidable Enemy; and soon after in the same Year died the Duke of *Calabria*. From that Time the *Florentines* had no Prince over them till the Year 1342, when finding themselves disappointed of taking *Lucca*, and dissatisfied with their General *Malatesta's* Conduct, they thought necessary both to repair the Loss, and to settle Order at Home, to have a foreign Prince at the Head of their Government. They turned their Thoughts
on

on *Gualtieri*, as a Man, who had given them formerly some Proof of his Abilities. In order to it, they addressed themselves to King *Robert*, who willingly sent him over to them. Others say, that they requested the King for a Prince without naming any one in particular, but that the King proposed *Gualtieri*; considering he would be acceptable to them on the Account of his former Behaviour. Let this be as it will, *Gualtieri* came the second Time to *Florence*, received by the People with all Approbation and Marks of Respect. It was then, that at the Instigation and Management of the Party of the Nobles, and their Adherents, and by Cabals, Briberies, and Treachery *Gualtieri* was made Sovereign of *Florence* for Life, to the Prejudice of the People's Rights and Liberty. (d) So true it is, that free Nations by their own Folly, and Corruption work for themselves the Chains they are enslaved with; for 'tis impossible for a foreign Prince to make himself Master of the Liberties of any Country without the Assistance of a Party. As soon as *Gualtieri* was put at the Head of the Government, he lost neither Time nor Opportunity to make himself absolute Master of it; using all the unjust and tyrannical Means to oppress the People. He burdened them with heavy Taxes, Duties, and other Impositions. He raised Troops out of

(d) A particular Account of the Transaction of this Affair, as well as the tyrannical Government of *Gualtieri*, may be read in *Villani*, *Ammirato*, and other *Florentine* Historians, and in the Life of *Gualtieri* written by *Silvano Razzi*, among the *Vite di quattro buomini illustri*. *Flor.* 1580, in 8vo, p. 51. & seq.

his own Nation. He preferred Strangers, and Men of no Worth to Posts and Dignities. He persecuted those he thought to be against him, and put Men to Death without any Regard to Justice or Pity : And, what was more odious to the *Italian* Nation, he debauched the Modesty and Chastity of the Women by introducing *French* Modes and Manners. All these Excesses he pretended to justify by some Pretext or other ; as to make necessary Provisions for the Defence and Support of the Republic : To reward Merit, and do strict Justice : To settle Tranquillity and Peace at Home, and to polish the Nation, by living and conversing after the polite Fashion of foreign Courts. *Gualtieri* wanted neither Ministers nor Officers to approve and execute his evil Design, and they were, as usually Ministers are in such Cases, no less rapacious and tyrannical than their Master. *William d'Assisi* (e) was one of them, who had under him the Post of *Conservadore del Popolo*, so violent and cruel a Man, that he seemed to take Pleasure in the Shedding of human Blood. He was intirely at *Gualtieri's* Devotion, and would stick at nothing to serve him ; having no regard to the Liberty of his Country, neither sparing his Countrymen's Lives and Fortunes. *Gualtieri's* Conduct at last was such, that rendered himself odious to all. No less than three Conspiracies

N

were

(e) *Villani* calls him *Giulio d'Ascesi*. *Ascesi* and *Assisi* is the same, the Variation comes from the Difference of the Pronunciation. The *Florentines* say *Ascesi* for *Assisi*, as *Dante Parad. c. 11*. It is a Town in the Ecclesiastical State in *Umbria*. I find him also called *da Scesi*, and *da Sissi*—but I suppose by Fault of the Press.

were formed against him at the same time, and what is more surprizing, each was ignorant of the other ; but at last breaking out, and having joined together, a general Insurrection was made against him ; they besieged his Palace, resolved to have him dead or alive in their Hands. It was then, that the People would never be brought to hear of any Accommodation before he had given them up the said *William d'Assisi*, his Son, and another of his Favourites. To which Demand the Duke was forced to yield, to save his own Life. The Manner how *William d'Assisi*, and his Son were put to Death by the enraged Multitude, is not to be described without Horror. The Injuries were so fresh, the Hatred so excessive, and the Desire of recovering the ancient Liberty so impatient, that no Room was left for Reason and Pity to work on their Minds. They like hungry Wolves fell at first on his Son, a tender Youth not above twenty Years old ; but neither the Age, nor the Beauty of his Person, nor his Innocency could save him from their Fury and Rage. He was in a most barbarous Manner killed, and torn to pieces before the Father's Eyes, as a Victim for his Crimes, and himself afterwards underwent the same Fate. But their Thirst of Vengeance was not quenched with the Blood they had shed. His dead Body was exposed to all the most ignominious and cruel Treatment. They would with curious Eyes look into the Wounds, and feel them with their Hands ; and that all the Senses might have a Share in the Vengeance, they bit and ate the Flesh, which some of them, to make it more relishing to the Palate, dressed as Meat.

Thus

Thus the wicked Minister with his Son fell a Victim of the People instead of his Master. After this the Multitude's Fury was asswaged, permitting *Gualtieri* to go away from *Florence* on Conditions. Such an End had *Gualtieri's* usurped Sovereignty, a violent but very short one, having lasted not a Year. The *Florentines*, to express their Joy, and to give Thanks to God for the Delivery from his Tyranny, and the Recovering of their Liberty, appointed an annual Festival to be celebrated on that Day, (f) and solemnized like *Easter-Sunday* with a proper Office, and Offerings in the Name of the Common, and all the Companies of the Arts.

Gualtieri is not only to be blamed as unjust in attempting to usurp the Government of *Florence*, instead of being the Protector of it, which he was called in for ; but also for his impolitical Conduct in the Pursuit of his Intent. The wrong Steps he took in this Regard were so many, that it would be too long to examine them here. Perhaps I shall have an Occasion of doing it another Time. It will be enough for the present, to take Notice of the Want of Courage he shewed at last, in capitulating with the *Florentines*, and going away in so shameful a Manner. Since he was once brought to that Pass, either to die or conquer, he ought, instead of shutting himself up with his Friends in his Palace, to have with those few Forces he had, withstood the Fury of the People, and try the Fortune of Arms ; and tho' in a bad Cause, choose rather to die like a valiant Man, than to surrender him-

(e) The 26th of July, St. Anna's Festival.

self on so ignominious Conditions. Victory might have established his Power, and Death would have preserved to Posterity his odious Name, but with the Eloge of a brave and resolute Man, like *Cataline* by *Flerus*. ‘*Pulcher-
‘ rima morte si pro patria sic concidisset.* Or *Cu-
‘ rio* by *Lucan*. ‘*Fortis Virtute coacta.* But Bravery and Resolution are seldom to be found in a cruel tyrannical Mind. The Conscience of the Crimes snatches the Arms from the Hand of a Tyrant, and turns them against him, who not daring to withstand her Threatnings, pursued every-where by her, runs away as a Coward with Trembling and Confusion.

N U M B E R X X.

Duke Valentin——(a) *Rimirro da Orco*] Our Author expressly says, that *Rimirro da Orco*, or *Remiro d’Orco* as we read in *Machiavel*, was beheaded——*Col far tagliar la testa.* And with him

(a) In *Sanfovino’s* History of the Family of the *Orsini*, he is called *Orco Rimi-ro*, but no doubt by the Printer’s Fault. Our Author calls him *Rimirro* : *Machiavel*, *Remiro*. one of the *English* Translators *Romiro*. All these Varieties are from the Difference of the Pronunciation. I take the Name to be the same with the *Spanish* *Ramiro*, or *Ramirez*. The *Latin* Authors have render’d it *Remerus*, and *Remirus Orcus*, as if the Surname had been *Orco*, and so he is called by *Santacroce* [*Secretaria d’Apollo*, pag. 553.] *Remiro Orco*. I would rather have said *de Orco*, because I think the Surname to have been taken from the Place where he was born, or from whence the Family came. In the Country of *Brescia* there are two Towns called by the same Name *Orci*, distinguished by *Vecchi* and *Nuovo* ; the last is more renowned.

him agrees *Forstner* (b). *Remirum Orcum*—*Capite pleſſi juſſit*. The *French* Tranſlator (c) of *Machiavel*. *Couper ſa tete*. And both the *English* Tranſlators. *His Head chopt off*—*His Head to be ſtruck off*. Thus rendering *Machiavel*'s Words, *Lo fece mettere in duoi pezzi*. I will ſet down the whole Paſſage of *Machiavel*, not only for the Reader's better Information concerning this Action of Duke *Valentine*, which that Politician takes a moſt particular Notice, and gives a full Account of: But alſo to mark ſome Faults committed by the *French* and *English* Tranſlators of this Paſſage (d). ‘ E
 ‘ perche queſta parte è degna di notizia, & da
 ‘ eſſer imitata da altri, non voglio laſciarla in
 ‘ dietro. Preſo che hebbe il Duca la Romagna,
 ‘ trovandola eſſer ſtata comandata da Signori im-
 ‘ potenti, quali piu toſto haveano ſpogliato i loro
 ‘ ſudditi che correttori, & dato loro piu materia
 ‘ di diſunione che d'Unione, tanto che quella
 ‘ Provincia era piena di latrocinii, di Brighe, &
 ‘ d'Ogni altra ſorte d'Inſolenza, giudicò neceſſa-
 ‘ rio a volerla ridurre pacifica & obediante al
 ‘ braccio Regio, darli unbuono governo. Però
 ‘ vi prepoſe meſſer Remiro d'Orco, huomo cru-
 ‘ dele & expedito, al quale dette pieniffima po-
 ‘ teſtà. Coſtui in brieve tempo la riduſſe paci-
 ‘ fica & unita con grandiffima reputatione. Di
 ‘ poi giudicò il Duca non eſſere a propoſito ſi
 ‘ eccelſiva autorità, perche dubitava non diven-
 ‘ taſſe

(b) *Not. Polit. in Corn. Tacit. Annal. l. 1. pag. 32. edit. Francof. 1662. in 8vo.*

(c) *Gaspar Dauvergne. Rouen 1577. in 12mo.*

(d) In his Book *Il Principe*, cap. 7.

‘ tasse odiosa. Preposevi un giudizio civile nel
 ‘ mezzo della Provincia, con un Presidente ec-
 ‘ cellentissimo, dove ogni Città havea l’Avvoca-
 ‘ to suo. Et perche cognosceva le rigorosità
 ‘ passate haverli generato qualche odio, per pur-
 ‘ gare gli animi di quelli Popoli, & guadagnar-
 ‘ seli in tutto, volse mostrare che se crudeltà al-
 ‘ cuna era seguita, non era nata da lui, ma da
 ‘ l’acerba natura del Ministro. Et preso sopra
 ‘ questo occasione, lo fece mettere una mattina
 ‘ in duoi pezzi a Cesena in su la piazza, con un
 ‘ pezzo di legno & un coltello sanguinoso à
 ‘ canto. La ferocità del quale spettacolo fece
 ‘ quelli popoli in un tempo rimanere sodisfatti &
 ‘ stupidi——

We have two *English* Translations of *Machiavel’s* Prince, one by *Edward Dacres*, and another by an anonymous Hand, and which is printed in the Edition of *Machiavel’s* Works in Folio; according to this the above quoted *Italian* Passage, is thus translated. ‘ And because
 ‘ this Part is not unworthy to be known for
 ‘ Imitation’s Sake, I will not pass it in Silence.
 ‘ When the Duke had possess’d himself of *Romagna*, finding it had been governed by poor
 ‘ and inferior Lords, who had rather robbed
 ‘ than corrected their Subjects, and given them
 ‘ more occasion for Discord than Unity; inso-
 ‘ much as that Province was full of Robberies,
 ‘ Riots, and all Manner of Insolencies, to reduce
 ‘ them to Unanimity and Subjection to Monar-
 ‘ chy, he thought it necessary to provide them a
 ‘ good Governor, and thereupon he conferred
 ‘ that Charge upon *Romiro d’Orco* with absolute
 ‘ Power, tho’ he was a cruel and a passionate
 ‘ Man. *Orco* was not long before he had
 settled

' settled it in Peace, with no small Reputation
 ' to himself. Afterwards, the Duke apprehend-
 ' ing so large a Power might grow odious to the
 ' People, he erected a Court of Judicature in
 ' the middle of the Province, in which every
 ' City had its Advocate; and an excellent Per-
 ' son was appointed to preside. And because
 ' he discover'd, that his pass'd Severity had
 ' created him many Enemies; to remove that
 ' ill Opinion, and recover the Affection of the
 ' People, he had a Mind to show, that if any
 ' Cruelty had been exercised, it proceeded not
 ' from him, but from the Arrogance of his Mi-
 ' nister; and for their further Confirmation, he
 ' caused the said Governor to be apprehended,
 ' and his Head chop'd off one Morning in the
 ' Market-place at *Cesena*, with a wooden Dag-
 ' ger on one Side of him, and a bloody Knife
 ' on the other; the Ferocity of which Spectacle
 ' not only appeas'd, but amaz'd the People for
 ' a while.' I'll not take upon myself at pre-
 sent, to examine how exact and faithful is the
 abovesaid Translation, and that of *Dacres*, in
 every Particular. I shall only take Notice in
 them both of some Mistakes, and those in par-
 ticular, that regard the Manner of *Remiro d'
 Orco's* Death. In the first Place he misunderstood
 the Meaning of those Words. *Et preso sopra questo
 occasione*, by translating them. *And for their fur-
 ther Confirmation he caused the same Governor to be
 apprehended.* And in the like Manner *Dacres*,
laying hold on him; as if *preso* was to be refer-
 red to *Remiro d'Orco*; and *sopra questo* to the
 People. Whereas *preso* is to be join'd with *occa-
 sione*. *Preso occasione*, having taken hold of the
 Occasion. And *sopra questo*, to the Duke's De-
 sign.

sign. So that *Machiavel's* Meaning is, that the Duke *Valentine*, in order to persuade the People that those Cruelties formerly committed, did not proceed from him, and so to gain the Affection of the People, which he had lost on that Account, charged his Governor *Remiro d'Orco* with them; and upon this he took hold of the Occasion to put him to death. The *French* Translator has justly expressed the Sense of the Words. *Si bien que prenant occasion sur cela—*

In the second Place, both the *English* Translators, as well as the *French*, make *Machiavel* say, that *Remiro d'Orco* was beheaded in the Market-place of *Cesena*; whereas the true Meaning of what he says, is, that the Duke caused one Morning to be exposed to the publick View, in the Market-place at *Cesena*, the Body of *Remiro d'Orco* cut in two, according to the *Latin* Translation made by *Sylvester Telijs*, (e) ‘ Atque
 ‘ ad hanc rem ornandam (are his Words) occasione
 ‘ arrepta judicem illum, *Remerum Orcum*, in
 ‘ duas partes discissum summo quodam mane
 ‘ frusto ligni, ac cruento gladio ad ejus latus
 ‘ aptato, in *Cesenatium* medio foro stratum de-
 ‘ ponendum curavit——

Laurenzo Capelloni, an *Italian* Author too, relates this Fact after the same Manner, according to the *French* Translation of his Work. (I have not the *Italian* Copy by me (f.) ‘ Le fit un
 ‘ matin mettre sur la place de *Cesena* en deux

(e) *Silvestro Teglio*, an *Italian* of *Fuligno*, in the Dutchy of *Spoleto*, and one of those learned Men, that left *Italy* on Account of Religion in the 16th Century.

(f) *Les divers Discours*, printed at *Troyes* 1595, in 8vo.
 ‘ pieces

‘ pieces sur une table. *Trajano Boccalini* also says, that *Remiro d’Orco* was quarter’d. He does not mention his Name, but ’tis evident by the Narration of the Fact, that he means *Remiro d’Orco* (b) ‘ *Il Duca Valentino* doppo ‘ haver fatte commettere un infinità di sceleratezze dal suo Vicario criminale nelle Città di *Romagna*, mostrando che tutto fusse succeduto ‘ contro la sua ottima intentione, consegnò il ‘ povero Giudice all’ imprecationi e bestemie de, ‘ *Popoli*, che lo vollero *in quarti*.

In the third place, the *French* Translator has not these Words. *Con un pezzo di legno & un coltello sanguinoso a canto*, a Particular that was not to be neglected in so remarkable an Execution. But the *English* Translators have quite alter’d the Meaning. The Anonymous has very ridiculously transformed *un pezzo di legno*, a Piece of Wood, into a wooden Dagger; and *E. Dacres*, into a Gibbet: he was left upon a Gibbet with a bloody Sword by his Side — And *Capelloni* makes this Piece of Wood to be a Leaver, *avec un Levier*. The Piece of Wood, and the bloody Knife were laid on each Side of his Body, I imagine, as the Instruments of the Death he was put to, that is, killed, and cut in two, as Butchers do Sheep; and by this to strike Terror on the People.

The said *English* Translators have committed another Fault in rendering *in un tempo* for a while. They should have said, *at once*, or *at the same Time*; that is, the People were satisfy’d and surpris’d at the same Time.

(g) *Offerv. sopra gli An. di C. Tacito, l. 1mo, p. 66. Cosmopoli. 1677. in 4to.*

The Fact being thus, as it is described by *Machiavel*, how can it be said with our Author, that *Remiro d'Orco* was beheaded? *Machiavel's* Authority in what concerns the Duke *Valentine's* Actions, is, without dispute, to be preferred to any other Writer; considering the Time he liv'd in, and the Knowledge he had of the Duke *Valentine's* Affairs. Neither do I remember to have met with any other Author contemporary, that has made mention of it. But what more surprises me, is, that *Tomaso Tomasi*, who many Years after *Machiavel* writ the Life of that Duke at large; and *Gregorio Leti*, who gave a new Edition of *Tomasi's* Work, with Notes and Additions; yet both have been so negligent, as not to take Notice of it. I know no other way to reconcile our Author's with *Machiavel's* Account, than to suppose, as it is commonly practised in the like Executions, that *Remiro d'Orco* was beheaded at first, and afterwards his Body cut into two; and then expos'd to the publick View. This was the Spectacle that *Machiavel* calls fierce. *La Ferocità del quale Spettacolo*; which he could not have said, had *Remiro d'Orco* been only beheaded. Such an Execution having nothing of extraordinary Cruelty in it. Besides, had he been only beheaded, to what Intent could the bloody Knife have been expos'd to the People's View? Instead of *Coltello* Knife, *Machiavel* would have said *Mannaia*, which is the proper Instrument for beheading, used in *Italy*; from whence I suppose the *Scotch* Name *Maiden* may be derived. I know no other Particular of this President of *Romagna Remiro d'Orco* but what

what I read in *Sanfovino* (i): which is, that Pope *Alexander* the VIth, with his Son the Duke *Valentine*, intending by Treachery to seize on the Estate of *Guido Baldo da Montefeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, and at the same Time on his Person to put him out of the World, the Pope had beforehand sent Order to *Remiro d'Orco* to march with a great Army against the Town of *San Leo*, under Colour of pursuing the *Banditi*; but in reality, to lie in wait for *Guido Baldo*, in case, that escaping from *Valentine's* Power, he should go there to save himself, as they thought he would in all Probability do, that Town being in his Territory, and a very strong and fortified Place. In fact, *Guido Baldo*, at the hearing that *Valentine's* Troops had surpris'd some Places in his State, run away from *Urbino*, taking the Road of *San Leo*; and he would infallibly have fallen into *Remiro's* Hands, had not he by Providence met a Shepherd, who gave him notice of the Danger he was in, and conducted him through Bye-ways out of the Territory of *Urbino* into that of *Cesena*, a Town then under the Dominion of the *Venetians*.

The Fate, that *Remiro d'Orco* met with from his Master *Valentine*, commonly attends a Minister, who is the Instrument of the Master's Tyranny. He is not only hated by the People, that suffer and groan under it, but by his Master also, who, being conscious that himself is the Author of what the Minister has done, looks upon him with a suspicious and fearful Eye, as an Accuser and Reproacher of his wicked Will and Actions.

(i) *Hist. di Casa Orfina*, lib. 9. p. 128.

So that he'll be ready on any Occasion, to lay the Blame on him, and sacrifice him to the People's Wrath and Indignation; and by this means attempt to free himself from the Imputation of Cruelty among his Subjects, and the Fear of being reproach'd with his Crimes while his Minister continues in Favor and unpunish'd.

‘ *Crudelitatis Ministri, says a Politician (k), ut*
 ‘ *exprobrantes a Principibus aspiciuntur, adeoque*
 ‘ *haud rarò omnis sævitiae infamia in hos exone-*
 ‘ *ratur.*

N U M B E R X X I.

In the Beginning of Nero's Empire.] The first five Years of *Nero's* Reign were remarkable not only for the wholesome Regulations and Laws then enacted; but also for the Marks he gave of his good Disposition to Liberality, Clemency, and Affability, which he neglected no Occasion to shew (a). Infomuch that it was by some reported, the Emperor *Trajan* was wont to say, that all the former Princes fell very short of the five Years of *Nero* (b). Had *Nero* continued in the same Way thro' the whole Course of his Life, his Name, no doubt, would have been remember'd with Honor; whereas now, from what he did afterwards, it is mentioned with Horror and Detestation, and is become the Name of a most infamous and execrable Tyrant. But

(k) *Forslner. Not. Polit. ad C. Tacit. Annal. l. 3. p. m.*
 441.

(a) *Sueton. in Ner. c. 10.*

(b) *Aurel. Vict. Epict.*

from whence was this great Change in *Nero's* Conduct? From the Indulgence, as *Dion Cassius* observes (c), of *Burrus* and *Seneca*, whose Care and Direction he was committed to, and who had the greatest Sway with him. These two Men, tho' much esteem'd for Wisdom and Prudence; yet the more they ought to be blamed for the wrong Way they took with *Nero*, to bring him to the Knowledge of Virtue, and the Application to publick Affairs. He was a young Man, naturally inclined to Pleasures and Vices, and averse from good and serious Application. They, instead of curbing in some measure the Violence of his Passions, rather encouraged them in a full Career, by suffering him to follow his own Pleasures and Diversions. This they did, according to *Dion's* Account, thinking that Course of *Nero's* Life would be of no great Prejudice to the State, and that by a full Enjoyment of Pleasures he would soon grow tired, and know by Experience the Vanity and Weakness of them; so that of his own Accord, they hoped, he would renounce them, and take a better Turn. A very strange Way of thinking! But who can believe, two such wise Men, as *Burrus* and *Seneca*, to have been ignorant, or not have considered, that a young Man wilfull, sensible of his superior Power, and brought up in the greatest Luxury, and to an entire Liberty, far from growing tired of Pleasures by the Enjoyment of them, would not be more corrupted and debauched? That Men become very wicked by Degrees, and not all at once. That Crimes, like Rings in a Chain,

(c) *Lib. 61.*

draw on one another, is so plain and evident by Reason and Experience, that no Man of any Sense and Knowledge of the World could ever have been ignorant of it, much less *Burrus* and *Seneca*. Besides it was too notorious for to doubt of *Nero's* vicious Nature. She discovered herself very early, and tho' at the Beginning she did work but slowly and privately, and under the Shelter of Youth (an Age subject to Errors and Irregularities) yet even then she was so strong and active, that any Body could not but see, that *Nero's* Vices were by Nature implanted in him; so that they were her's, and not the Vices of Youth (*d*). And who should or could have sooner, and better known *Nero's* Temper and Inclinations, but those two great wise Men, who were constant Attenders upon him, knew him from his Infancy, and whose Direction and Instruction he had been intrusted to? Was it not then their Duty to have used a most particular Diligence, and imployed the fittest Means imaginable to prevent the Growth, if not possible to extirpate those vicious Seeds by a timely and good Discipline; and not, as they did by their Indulgence, supply them with fresh Nourishment, so as to let them take a deeper Root? Can we charge them with so gross a Mistake? No. What shall we think of them then? Would it be too rash in me, if I should say, that the View they had in this Conduct was

(*d*) *Sueton in Ner. cap. 26.* Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem, sensim quidem primo & occulte, velut juvenili errore exercuit: sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret, Naturæ illa vitia, non ætatis esse.

their particular Interest? That is, to have a greater Influence on *Nero*, and by it to keep in their Hands that governing Power, which they had taken away from *Agrippina* his Mother. We know too well, that it has been an ordinary Trick of the Governors, and Favourites of Princes, to indulge the Passions of their Masters, in order to divert their Minds from the Application to public Affairs, taking upon themselves the whole Administration of the State; and by that Means become Masters both of the Prince and the People. In every Nation we may find Instances of this old ministerial Practice; and in our own, not to mention others, we have Cardinal *Wolsey*, who by this Engine raised himself up to that exorbitant Height of Power he had under *Henry* the Eighth. Indeed we must acknowledge, that *Burrus* and *Seneca* are not to be compared to the chief Ministers of latter Ages: Their Conduct plainly shewing, that far from abusing of the Power they had, the *Roman* Empire, by the Testimony of *Trajan*, was never before so well governed as in those five Years of *Nero*, whilst they steer'd the Helm of the Government. They were Men fit for that Post, and it would have been happy for the *Romans* had they continued in it. But for all this, we ought to consider, that wise and prudent Men are not always free from the Ambition of Power; and that when such Men have once attained it, they will make a good Use of it to their Master's, their own, and their Country's Interest. But, alas! to meet with such chief Ministers is too great an Happiness for a Country to be often enjoyed. Let

Burrus

Burrus and *Seneca* be praised for their Knowledge and Wisdom, yet both were Courtiers, and Courtiers, if I may say, by Profession ; living constantly at Court, and concerning themselves with all the Transactions, and Cabals there formed : such Courtiers, as they were, could not but aspire to arrive at Power, Riches, and Honours : things that are not to be got without having the Prince's Favour ; and how could they obtain this without Flattery, Dissimulation, Artifices, Intrigues, and servile Means to please and indulge his Inclinations ? And the more, in so corrupt a court as the *Roman* then was, and under a Prince so inclined to Vices as *Nero*. Whoever has not the like Talents, neither will follow this Conduct, he is an improper Person to be a Courtier, and can have no Hope of being ever raised to any Post, but much less to become a Prime Minister.

Besides are we not to be surpris'd at those two Men, one renowned for Gravity of Manners, and the other professing to be a Stoick Philosopher, for suffering a young Prince, and such as *Nero*, to pass his Time in Pleasures and Riots ? Was this their Conduct consistent with the Gravity of Manners, or the Precepts of the Stoic Philosophy ? No, very far from it. Have we not just Reason therefore to suspect, that a private Interest made them act contrary to what they outwardly appeared and professed to be ? And what could have been this Interest, but, as I said before, to have in their Hands the whole Management of the public Affairs ? It was this private Interest that joined and made them agree so well together in the Direction of their Master,

tho'

tho' they differed in their Manners (*e*). This is not the only Action of *Burrus*, that puts his Gravity of Manners in doubt ; not to descend to every particular Action, did not he act like a true Courtier, and a wicked Sycophant, in being the first to applaud *Nero* for the Murder of his Mother ? Sending on that Account his Officers to congratulate with him ; and this in order to relieve by a most base and abominable Flattery *Nero's* Mind, from those cruel Torments he justly suffered in his Conscience by the Horror of the Crime (*f*).

I will not charge him or *Seneca*, with having been any Way concerned in contriving *Agrippina's* Death, tho' both are not altogether free from being suspected of it ; yet certain it is, that after *Agrippina's* Escape from the first Attempt made against her Life, *Nero*, sending for both, asked their Advice, what was to be done in that Case, whether he should have her killed or not. They then far from declaring their Opinion against the Murder, or taking any Step to prevent it, behaved themselves in such a crafty, but mean Manner, as to plainly shew their Approbation of the Execution of it. Is this the Way of acting like a Man of a firm and constant Mind ? Or as a true Stoic Philosopher ? Would not such a one have chosen rather to perish, than to give any Countenance to a Parricide ? As for *Seneca's* Character, if what *Dion Cassius* (*g*) says of him

(*e*) *Burrus* — gravitate morum. *Seneca* — comitate honesta. *Tacit. An. lib. 13. cap. 2.*

(*f*) *Tacit. An. lib. 14. cap. 10.*

(*g*) *Dion, lib. 61. p. m. 694. & lib. 62. pag. 713.*

be true (and there is very little Reason to believe the contrary) he was a Stoic Philosopher indeed, I mean, like one of those, that are exposed to ridicule, cried down, and detested for their Vices both by the *Latin* and *Greek* Authors. A vain, ambitious, covetous, hypocritical Man, a base Flatterer, given to loose and abominable Passions, and what surpasses all, a most wicked and infamous Preceptor, who instead of inspiring, according to his Duty, and Profession, into the tender Mind of his Scholar a true Sense of Virtue and Morality, both by Precepts and Example, corrupted and debauched him, to satisfy his own unnatural Lust.

After all this, would it appear strange to think that *Seneca* and *Burrus* had their private Interest and View in indulging, and suffering *Nero* to follow such a Course of Life, which they could not but disapprove, as the most pernicious for a young Man viciously inclined; and which instead of correcting, would infallibly have corrupted his Nature more and more, and prove at last to be his own, and the Empire's Ruin? And what could they expect after all for themselves, but their own Destruction? A Fate commonly attending the like Ministers, and Prince's Favourites.

Another Cause of this Change in *Nero* for the worst, was the Conversation of the young People he had about him, the Companions of his Pleasures. Those wretched Creatures made their Court to him by flattering his Inclinations, and encouraging him in his Pleasures and Debauches; and taking Advantage of the Freedom and Familiarity he used with them, lost no Opportunity to give him an Aversion for his Governors, as if it were below his Greatness
and

and Dignity to be dependent on, and directed in his Actions by them, over whom he had an absolute Power, and not they over him. *Was he then afraid of them? Why to be treated in that Manner?* By these and the like Suggestions, which young People easily give the Hearing to, *Nero* begun to renounce all Shame, and to openly despise the Remonstrances of *Burrus* and *Seneca*; giving himself up to his own disorderly Appetites, and vicious Inclinations. But who ought to be blamed for this? *Burrus* and *Seneca* themselves, who did not take that due Care necessary for a young Man's Education, in chusing sober and modest Men for his Companions, who by their good Behaviour might have had some Influence on his Conduct, and hindered him at least to run into Excess. Did they not know, that bad Company soon corrupts Youth? That nothing is so dangerous and prejudicial to a young Prince, as to have flattering debauched Fellows about him? How can we excuse those two wise Men for such a Conduct? How can we think they had no particular Interest in it? I am perswaded they had. They thought, and hoped, as I have already mentioned, by this Indulgence to gain more of *Nero's* Favour, and keep in their Hands the Power of managing the public Affairs; *Seneca* in particular, who had been so familiar with him. I make no doubt, that in that Case, the *Roman* Empire would have been well governed; but why? Because they were Men of Sense, Men of Parts, and Ability, that had a good Knowledge of the World, and knew what it was, and how to govern. But all this will not shew them to have been less ambitious of Power. It

was indeed very unfortunate both for them and the *Roman* Empire, that they were disappointed in their Aim ; yet it must be owned, that the Ambition of Power made them to take so wrong a Step, as to indulge *Nero's* vicious Inclinations ; and that by this Indulgence *Nero* changed for the worst, from whence at last he fell into Excess of Tyranny.

I'll conclude with one Observation more on this Subject ; which is, that *Nero's* Government for the first five Years of his Reign is not to be supposed to have been in reality so good, as one would imagine by the Notice taken of it, and from the Report of that Saying of *Trajan* before mentioned : No, but so far, as it is compared with what proved to be afterwards under the same *Nero*, and what had formerly been under those Monsters of Princes, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, his Predecessors. We ought to consider, that after a Succession of Tyrants, any Prince, who is tolerable, would pass for an extraordinary good one ; and an indifferent Administration of the Public under him be extolled as the wisest and best of all. People judge of the Goodness and Badness of their Governors, and Government, as they do of other Things, not by their real Merit, but by comparing them with others ; praising or blaming them accordingly. It was by this Comparison that *Nero's* five Years Reign were so much commended and admired. The Author, who relates the Report of *Trajan's* Saying (which by the by is not without Hyperbole) shews by his Words, that he was of this Opinion. *Nero*, says he, for the Space of five Years appeared to be such a Prince, as might be borne with ; from
whence,

whence, he adds, some took Occasion to report that Saying of *Trajan*, &c. ‘ *Iste (Nero) quinquennio tolerabilis visus ; inde quidam prodiderunt, Trajanum solitum dicere, Procul distare cunctos Principes à Neronis quinquennio. —*

N U M B E R XXII.

*Neither Commodus, Perennius, &c.] Perennius, or Perennis, Captain of the Guards, and chief Minister and Favourite of the Emperor Commodus, assumed such a Power, that the Government of the whole Empire was intirely in his Hand. The Historians do not agree in his Character. If we believe Dion Cassius, (a) he was a very worthy Man, most moderate and modest, free from coveting either Riches or Glory, a faithful and upright Minister of State, who had at Heart the public Good, and the Preservation of the Empire. That he was forced by the negligent Conduct of his Master in minding nothing, but Pleasures, and all Sorts of Debaucheries, to take upon himself the Charge of the whole Government. In short, he was a Man undeserving of the Fate he met with, not only in Regard to himself, but to the public Interest in particular. The only Reproach he casts upon him, is his Ambition of Power ; to compass which he contrived the Death of *Pater-nus*, his Colleague in the Command of the Guards ; which afterwards proved his Ruin : The Soldiers upon any Disappointment laying*

(a) *Lib. 62.*

their Complaints against him, and being angry at him as the Author of it. The same did the Army, that was in *Britain*: they mutiny'd against him, and sent some of their Body to accuse him to the Emperor, of designing to advance his Son to the Imperial Dignity. *Commodus* delivered him up to the Soldiers of the Guards he was Commander of, who put him to Death, &c. Thus far *Dion*. But *Herodian* (b) and *Lampridius* (c) have drawn his Character in quite different Colours. He is represented as a most wicked Minister of State, ambitious, rapacious, insolent, and cruel. It was he, by their Account, that indulged his Master in Pleasures and Debaucheries; in order to get the governing Power into his Hands. That by Artifices and Calumnies he destroyed or kept off from Court all the ancient, and faithful Ministers of *M. Aurelius*, *Commodus's* Father, so as to have no-body near his Master but himself; and who, to enrich himself by their Spoils, advised him, not to let any Man of great Rank have Power, but to root them out: By which Means he treasured up immense Riches. He had the Ear of his Master open only to his wicked Suggestions, which could not fail of having the Approbation from so vicious and corrupted a Mind, as that of *Commodus* was; so that he had him intirely under his Direction. And what can a bad Minister of State wish for more, to execute his ill Designs, and obtain his particular End? This could not but prove a very heavy Oppression to the *Roman* People; but what made their

(b) *Lib. 1.*

(c) *In Vita Commodi Anton. inter Hist. Ang. Script.*

Condition the more miserable was, that they knew, the Minister to be the Cause, and Author of the Evils they suffered. The People will sooner bear to be scourged by the absolute Hand of their Prince, than by the servile one of a Fellow-Subject. And they will never hate, and despise the Prince so much, than when they see, his Minister to have such an Influence over him, as to make him act for his own private End to their Oppression, and against the public Good.

Herodian goes further, charging him with aiming at the Empire. He gives an Account of his Design, the Means he took to execute it, and how it was discovered ; for which he was put to Death. I will not trouble the Reader with it, he may for his Satisfaction look into *Herodian's* History. Thus we find two different Characters of *Perennius* given by the Historians, one so opposite to the other, that 'tis impossible both should fit the same Person. Which of the two shall we believe the true one ? Whom of the Historians shall we prefer for Credit ? *Dion* or *Herodian*. I will take no Notice of *Lampridius*, as an Historian of later Date. Neither will I put in doubt *Xiphilin's* Sincerity in the Abridgment he has left us of *Dion's* History, of which this Part relating to the Life of *Commodus* with many others are lost ; and we know no more of it, but what we read in *Xiphilin*. What this Author therefore says, we must take as from *Dion*. Now it cannot but seem very strange, that *Dion* and *Herodian* both living at the same Time, and at *Rome* in *Commodus's* Reign : both professing, that what they write was not from other Historians, but of their own Knowledge ; should yet so much disagree in the Character of *Perennius*, a Man not
of

of a private Condition ; but of the highest Rank and Power in that Time, as the chief Favourite and prime Minister of the *Roman* Emperor. I cannot deny, that *Dion's* Testimony is of a great Weight, as an Historian of Credit, particularly in what he relates of his own Time ; considering the Advantage he had over other Historians to be better informed of the public Transactions, and the Characters of the Men then in Power ; having been a Senator, Consul more than once, intrusted with the Government of Cities and Provinces, considered and favoured by Emperors, and familiarly conversing with them. Besides, which more concerns the present Question, he is an Historian not charged with Flattery. And the Life of *Commodus*, which he writ before he undertook the general *Roman* History, had the Approbation of the Emperor *Severus*, and others, Men of Distinction I suppose, that had the Perusal of it. Notwithstanding all this to support *Dion's* Authority, I am more inclined to prefer *Herodian's* Testimony to *Dion's* in this Point, upon the following Reasons.

First. Because *Herodian* is so full and particular in what he says of *Perennius*, that he leaves no room to doubt of the Truth of it ; and should we doubt of it, we might in the same Manner doubt of all we read in the ancient Historians, who give us no other Guarantee for their Credit, but their own Word ; and we have no other Reason to take their Word for what they say, but the Esteem, that ancient Writers, either Contemporaries or of subsequent Ages had of their Ability and Sincerity. Tho' *Herodian*, like the rest of the Historians, has been taxed with Mistakes, or suspected in some Particulars (which neither *Dion* is free from) yet he

he has deserved to have a Rank among the good Historians, by the Judgment of the Learned. And to come to the Point in Hand, I do not remember; that in what he has writ of *Commodus*; he has ever been charged with Falshood; and we have no other Author, that I know who has given a larger and more distinct Account of that Emperor's Life. And as for *Perennius's* Character; we find, he has been followed by *Lampridius*, who was well acquainted with his History, as were also *Spartianus*, and *Capitolinus*, all three making mention of him in their Histories.

My Second Reason is, Because it seems *Dion* was absent from *Rome* for some while in *Commodus's* Reign; and about the Time when *Perennius* was in Power. Since he, speaking of the Occurrences of that Time, mentions his being at *Cilicia* with his Father; then Governor of that Province: So that he might not have been so well informed of *Perennius's* Actions, as *Herodian* might have been, who was present at *Rome*.

But Lastly. And what, to speak freely my Mind, prevails with me to take *Herodian's* Side, is because there is less Reason to suspect him, than *Dion* of Partiality; he was but a private Man 'tis true, but much considered for his Learning and Capacity, and never had any Share in public Employments, as *Dion* and his Father had. *Dion's* Father, as we have said before, was Governor of *Cilicia* under *Commodus*, whilst *Perennius* was Minister of State, and in the Height of Power. Indeed we are not assured, that he was a Creature of *Perennius*, or that he had any particular Obligation to, or Friendship

for him ; nevertheless, 'tis not improbable to think, according to the usual Way of prime Ministers in disposing of public Places, that he was by *Perennius's* Favour or Protection promoted or continued in that Charge of Honour and Authority. So that on this Regard *Dion* might have been partial in his Character ; the Sense of Gratitude prevailing with him so far, as to prefer that Character, which would be advantageous to the Memory of that Minister of State, and which, I do not doubt, many of his Favourites and Friends gave him. Indeed he charges him with having been the Author of *Paternus's* Death, not bearing to have a Colleague in the Command of the Guards. But what is this Charge in Comparison of the Crimes and Wickedness, that *Herodian* charges him with ? Or what in Comparison of the Encomium *Dion* bestows upon him ? Besides, that the Fact might have been so evident, and generally known, and the Report of it so current, that it would have exposed his Partiality too openly, had he either pass'd it over in Silence, or palliated it ; and then the Good he said of him would by that have lost all Credit. He therefore very artfully acknowledges a Fact, which could not be deny'd, in order to speak in Commendation of him with a greater Assurance, and Appearance of Truth ; and this he could more easily do, by charging (as he does) *Commodus* with all the flagitious Actions imputed to *Perennius*. The Character of that Emperor was so odious and abominable, that nothing could have been said of a Tyrant, that would not have been believed of him. To lay the Faults of the Prince on the prime Minister, and the Faults of the latter on the Prince according to Men's particular

ticular Inclinations, is what we know, and see practised in every Monarchy. But I think, *Dion* should not have said, that *Perennius* had the whole Care and Management of all the military, civil, and public Affairs; (d) neither that *Commodus* did not mind at all what concerned the Government. Since when a Minister of State is invested with such a Power, and his Master is so neglectful of the Care of the State, any Man, but, above all, the suffering People will; and with just Reason charge the prime Minister with the ill Conduct and Administration of the public Affairs, and with all the Mischiefs and Oppressions befalling them, as the Cause and Author of the Evil. Besides, if *Perennius* was of that Temper, as not to bear a Colleague in the Command of the Guards; insomuch that his Ambition pushed him so far, as to contrive the Death of *Paternus*, as *Dion* himself acknowledges; How can we after this reasonably think, that he would have bore any other to have a Share with him in so high a Post, as that of prime Minister? And that he would not have used all Artifices and Power to prevent it, and taken at last the same Measures with his Competitor, that he had taken with *Paternus*?

Again, I do not pretend to say, that a Man of that Quality, and in that Station of Life as *Dion*, is not in a better Way, than a private Man, as *Herodian*, to know the publick Transactions, and the secret Engines of a Prince's, and his prime Minister's Actions. Certainly he is, and may, if he takes the proper Measures, come at

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(d) Perennis non modo negotia militaria, sed etiam cætera tractare, atque adeo Reipublicæ præesse cogebatur.

the

the Knowledge of them. But what I say is this, that a private Man may be less suspected of Partiality, than a Man in publick Employments, or a Courtier. The Interest that such a Man has either in siding with, or opposing the prime Minister is greater, than a private Man can have; and therefore the Character he gives of him is more subject to be suspected of having been drawn by a partial Hand, not with the Pencil and Colours of Truth, but Interest and Passion. Besides, to judge of Things of this Nature, as the Character of Princes, or prime Ministers, does not require any particular Knowledge of public Transactions, or secret Motives of Actions. No, the Character of Persons so conspicuous in the State, and so concerned in the Government of it, cannot but be known by the People; it is the People that feels the Effects of the Goodness or Badness of a prime Minister; it is by these Effects that they judge of his Ability, Integrity, and other Qualities necessary to a Man in that high Post, whose Duty is to have the Care, and to procure the Advantage of the Public. To judge of the Cause by its Effects, is a true Maxim both in natural and moral Philosophy, particularly when confirmed by a long Experience. To judge according to this Rule is the surest Way of judging of Men's Characters. *Herodian*, I do not doubt, being a private Man, had *Perennius's* Character chiefly from the Sentiments of the Public; and therefore in this Particular he deserves more Credit than *Dion*. Whether a prime Minister be rapacious, cruel, haughty and insolent, &c. is not a Mystery of State, which is known but to few; he will be easily discover'd by his own Actions and Behaviour, to judge of which

which there is no need of being a great Politician, or a Man of much Penetration. I will not descend to Particulars, and make the Truth of what I have said more visible, lest I should be too long on this Subject.

As for the Approbation the Emperor *Severus*, and others (Courtiers not unlikely) gave to *Dion's* Life of *Commodus*, it will not be an Argument with me, for the Truth of every Particular therein mentioned. Such Approbations are no more to be valued, than Compliments. Neither do we know how *Severus*, and the rest stood affected to *Perennius's* Memory; but sure we may be, that *Dion* would not have communicated his History to *Severus*, had he not been persuaded before-hand, that what he had writ would have met with *Severus's* Approbation. Besides, the Testimony an Author gives of himself, in Praise of his Work, may be justly suspected; and he can't expect any Credit, but as a Favour. When a Man has no other Authority for what he says, but his own Word, the *Italian* is wont to say, *Il Credere è Cortesia*.

Thus much concerning the different Character of *Perennius* given by *Dion* and *Herodian*. I shall now come to make a short Reflection upon the Fall of that Minister of State. It is agreed on every hand, that the Soldiers were displeased at him, that they mutiny'd against, and accused him to the Emperor; upon which he was put to death. A wicked Minister of State, who knows himself to be odious to the People, ought never to disoblige the Army. It is their Sword, that protects him, by keeping the oppressed People in Awe, lest they should take the Revenge on him for what they suffer from his Ill-conduct.

conduct. Whoever has the Sword in his Hand, will be always ready to turn it against him, by whom he thinks himself injured. This a prime Minister should consider, as also the Character of the Men of that Profession (e).

And how they, by knowing their own Strength, and the Necessity he has of them, are apt to be soon disobliged on any small Disappointment: In which Case they will never want the Assistance of a disaffected Party, or some of his powerful Enemies; particularly if there be a rising Favourite, who aims at his Post, and is a Man of a daring undertaking Spirit. Thus *Cleander*, as *Dion* says, took the Opportunity of the Army's Complaints and Accusations against *Perennius*, to prevail with *Commodus* to give him up to the Guards to be put to Death. And it is not altogether improbable, that *Cleander* had a Hand in what the Soldiers did, at least in fomenting their Discontent. *Perennius* should have been more careful to guard himself against him. A prime Minister can never be too cautious against a new Favourite; and he ought, for his own Security, to free himself from such a Competitor by some Means or other. In Conclusion, a Prince, who will be absolute, as well as a Minister of State, who will oppress the People, and keep himself in Power in spite of their Complaints and Threatenings, and of the Artifices of his Enemies and Competitors: Both, I say, must follow that Advice the Emperor *Severus* gave to

(e) *Lucan*, l. 10. v. 407 & 8.

*Nulla fides, pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur,
Venalesque manus: ibi fas, ubi maxima merces.*

his Sons; and which himself had followed, as a Maxim of his Government, *viz.* Enrich the Soldiers, and despise all the rest (*f*).

N U M B E R XXIII.

Neither Severus Plautianus.] I do not believe, that History can afford us an Instance of a greater Favourite, and more powerful Minister, than *Plautianus* was under *Septimius Severus*; neither at the same time of a more wicked, proud, and insolent one. A true Mark of the Power a prime Minister has with his Master! *Plautianus* (*a*) was born in *Africa*, of a mean Family; he passed his Youth in a low and infamous Condition, and was even condemned to Banishment, as a seditious Man, and guilty of many other Crimes. Nevertheless, all these Disadvantages were not an Obstacle to his Fortune, not to say, that perhaps they laid the first Step to it. *Severus* took such an Affection for him, that he raised him to the highest Posts of Honour and Authority, and made him so powerful and rich, that he was the greatest Man, even in Comparison of the *Roman* Emperors themselves; never refusing him any thing, but giving him all the Power of doing what he would, as if he in a manner had been the Emperor, and *Severus* his Officer. He expressed a Wish to have him for his Successor, and preferred his Daughter *Fulvia Plautilla*, be-

(*f*) Locupletate milites, cæteros omnes contemnite, apud *Dion. in Sever.*

(*a*) Vide *Herodian, l. 3. Dion, l. 75.*

fore all the most noble and beautiful *Roman* Ladies, to be his eldest Son *Caracalla's* Wife. But what was *Plautianus's* Merit to have deserved so much from *Severus*? Tho' we know by Experience, that it is not Merit which recommends a Man to be the chief Favourite and Minister of a Prince; yet such a Man has always some Qualification or other, which to the Prince's Eyes at least appears, as deserving his Favour, and that Post. Now I do not find the Historians to have taken any particular Notice of what raised *Plautianus* to that extraordinary Degree of Favour, and Power with *Severus*. What they say of him, is only relating to what he did whilst in the Height of Fortune. As for his having been *Severus's* Countryman, and, as some thought, of his Kindred, this might perhaps have put him in the Way of getting Preferments; but, I cannot think, this alone would have been sufficient to raise him to that Excess of Favour and Power; considering how often the Countrymen and Relations of Princes are kept under for no other Reason, but because they have that Advantage above the rest; and sometime they meet with a harder Fate.

Neither was *Plautianus's* Behaviour towards the Emperor and his Family such, as to deserve his Affection. His Insolence, Ambition, and Vanity were too notorious not to be known, and too great to be borne by any other Master. Neither was *Severus* such a weak, timorous, or indolent and negligent Prince, as to be imposed upon, or easily to be managed and governed. No, he was of a quite different Temper. He was quick-sighted, and cunning, vigilant, active, and resolute, and took upon himself the Care
and

and Management of the public Affairs. Shall we say then, that the Likeness of Inclinations was the Cause of *Plautianus's* growing so great a Favourite and Minister? This is the ordinary Bond, that Nature ties Men with in Friendship. Both the Master and Minister were cruel, Lovers of Riches, ambitious, and violent in their Passions. Both in their Youth had lived an irregular dissolute Life, and been guilty of several Crimes. Not to mention, that *Severus's* former Condition was not much superior, if not so low as that of *Plautianus's*. But if that be true, which *Herodian* says was reported by some, viz. That *Severus* had abused *Plautianus* when in the prime of his Youth; if this, I say, be true, there is no more Reason to wonder either at *Severus's* blind Affection for him, or at *Plautianus's* want of Merit to be raised to such a Height of Fortune: Neither at the ill Behaviour of the Minister, nor at the Master's Indulgence. The more criminal is a Passion, the stronger is its Power upon the Man's Heart, from the Corruption of the Understanding: and consequently it is hardly to be conquer'd. But let the Cause have been what it will; certain it is, that *Severus's* Affection for *Plautianus* was exceedingly great. At the Time when *Plautianus* was accused of attempting against his, and his Son's Life, and of designing to invade the Empire, and even after his Death, *Severus* could not forbear to give some Marks of his Affection for him. After all this ought we to be surpris'd, either at the Minister's Power, Haughtiness, Insolence, and Vanity, or at the Meanness of the *Romans* in flattering him in so shameful a Manner as they did? *Plautianus's* Images were expos'd to the public View, his

Statues erected not only in the Provinces, but even at *Rome*, and were even more in Number, and bigger, than those of the Emperors. This was done not by private Men alone, but by the Senate's Authority. The Soldiers as well as the Senators did swear by *Plautianus's* Fortune, and public Prayers were addressed to the Gods for the Preservation of his Health and Life. In short, *Plautianus* was more honoured, flattered, and feared, than the Emperor himself in every Respect. Such is the Influence, that a Prince's Favourite has upon a corrupt enslaved Nation, as the *Romans* were under the Yoke of an absolute Prince, and whose Will was directed by so wicked a Minister as *Plautianus*. Should I rehearse the particular Actions of this Man, and make Reflections upon them, it would be a Subject of too long a Discourse for my present Design. I leave it therefore to the Reader to consult *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian* for it. This I will only say, that the chief Cause of *Plautianus's* Ruin was his Vanity and Ambition in giving his Daughter for a Wife to *Caracalla*, *Severus's* eldest Son; and his insolent Behaviour with that young Prince, and other near Relations of *Severus*; not to mention his Calumnies against the Empress, and the outrageous Treatment she receiv'd from him; from all which he drew upon himself the Ill-will and Hatred of them. As for what my Author *Tolomei* says here of him, viz. That he was punish'd by *Severus*, it is a Fact contradicted by the Testimony of the two above-mentioned Historians *Dion* and *Herodian*. Both they agree in the main Point, tho' not exactly in every Particular; which is, that when *Severus* heard *Plautianus* justifying himself from
what

what he was accused of, that is, of conspiring against the Emperor and his Son *Caracalla's* Life; *Severus* then appear'd to be in some manner moved at it; upon which *Caracalla*, fearing perhaps he should be saved, furiously fell on him, giving, at the same time, order to a military Officer, and others there present to kill him, which was immediately executed. According to this Account it can't be said, that *Severus* punish'd or put him to Death; so that we may justly charge our Author with a Mistake: and very likely he was deceived by *Spartianus*, whom he gave Credit to, without further examining the Fact in other Historians. *Spartianus's* Words are:
 ' (b) *Postea iterum cum Plautiano in gratiam rediit (Severus) & veluti ovans urbem ingressus Capitolium petiit. Quamvis & ipsum procedenti tempore occiderit.* Which last Expression cannot be understood otherwise, but that either *Severus* himself slew him, or he was put to Death by his Order.

N U M B E R XXIV.

[*Sultan Solyman*] Among other royal Qualities, that rendered *Solyman* the Magnificent to be renowned and admired not only in his Time, but in future Ages, was the Administration of Justice in punishing the Ministers, that by Frauds, Extortions, and selling their Judgments, oppressed the Subjects to enrich themselves. The

Character, that *Sagredo* (a) gives of him, deserves the Reader's Attention, as it is the Model for a Prince, how he ought to govern.

* ‘ *Solyman*, says he, wanted nothing, but Religion
 ‘ (the Christian) to have been one of the best
 ‘ Monarchs in the World. He made a public
 ‘ Declaration, that if any one had in the former
 ‘ Reign been defrauded, either in his Estate, or
 ‘ Goods, he would make Restitution of it out of
 ‘ the best and dearest Part of his Treasures. He
 ‘ was above all others a strict Observer of the
 ‘ Rites of his Religion. He begun at first with the
 ‘ Care of the Temple or Moschey, to which the
 ‘ *Musulmans* attributed the happy Issue of his
 ‘ Designs. He punish'd severely the Usurpers of
 ‘ the Revenues of the Hospitals, and other pious
 ‘ Places. He subdued Wickedness, and restored
 ‘ Justice, formerly abandoned and banish'd from
 ‘ the Courts of Judicature. He never put to
 ‘ Death *Basbas* on the only Crime of being rich,
 ‘ as his Predecessor did, but because they had
 ‘ fattened themselves with the Substance of the
 ‘ People. Many *Cadis* (Judges) were executed for
 ‘ having sold Justice. Over the Government of
 ‘ the Provinces he set those, whose principal Virtue
 ‘ was Probity, and not poor hungry ones. He
 ‘ would that the Governors of States should imi-
 ‘ tate the copious Rivers, that in their Course
 ‘ leave what they meet with, and not the Tor-
 ‘ rents, that break down and sweep away all along
 ‘ with them.’ Such a Character of a *Turkish* Mo-
 narch might put to the Blush many Christian
 Princes.

(a) *Memorie Istoriche de Monarchi Ottomani*, pag. 146.
 Ven. 1688. 4to.

NUMBER XXV.

The King of England, &c.] By the King of *England*, our Author certainly means *Henry* the Eighth then alive; that is, in 1542 — the Date of his Letter. But whom of this King's Ministers he had in View, we can't positively say. *Cromwell* had been beheaded not above two Years before, *viz.* in 1540. But with what Justice he was condemn'd to Death, is what I leave the Reader to judge by the History of those Times. I will only say, what I think no-body will contradict, that he does not deserve to be put in the same Rank with *Sejanus*, *Perennius*, and the rest here mentioned. And if our Author thought otherwise, we ought to consider, that he was an *Italian*, and had never been in *England*; so that he had not the Opportunity of being rightly informed of the Transactions of this Kingdom; but he followed the Voice of the common Report then in *Italy*, which, I am sure, was not favourable to *Cromwell's* Character, particularly at *Rome*, where our Author lived a great Part of his Life; considering, that he was look'd upon by the Adherents to that Church, as the chief Promoter of the Protestant Religion in *England*. As for Cardinal *Wolsey*, he indeed may be justly placed among those ancient Ministers of State as *Sejanus*, *Perennius*, &c. But his Punishment was prevented by natural Death; tho' he had lost the King's Favour, and begun to feel the Effects of his Master's Indignation. As for *Empson* and *Dudley*, tho' they were called to an Account,

and

and punished in the Beginning of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign; yet they had not been his, but his Predecessor's Ministers, who advanced them to Power, and made them the Instruments to oppress his Subjects, in order to satisfy his avaricious Temper; and while he lived they both continued in his Favour, and were protected by it. So that they could not have been brought as Instances in the Case our Author is speaking of; unless we will suppose, that he was mistaken, and from their Suffering under *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, concluded, that they had been his Ministers.

N U M B E R XXVI.

Antoninus Pius, &c.] Among the most excellent Gifts with which Nature had endued *Antoninus*, were Sweetness of Temper and Inclination to Clemency; which above all adorn'd his Character. These were remarkable in him whilst in a private Life, but they became more conspicuous to the Eye of the World, by the Conduct he observed when Emperor in governing the *Roman* State: For which he deserved from the Senate the Name of *Pius*, as a Mark of a superior Merit. A Name more glorious and noble for a Prince than all the Titles, that Vanity, Pride, and Flattery could ever bestow upon him. But tho' Clemency was his predominant Virtue, yet he never suffered her to take Place before Justice. He understood too well both the End of Government, and the necessary Means to obtain it, as not to know, that to do Justice is the chief Duty of a Prince; and that

Clemency

Clemency ought to be directed by Prudence, and not by a Weakness of Temper, too sensible at another Man's suffering without reflecting on the Cause, which he suffers for. *Antoninus* was clement without offending Justice. He loved them both equally, and dispensed them according as Prudence required. No Consideration prevailed with him so far, as not to reward Merit, or punish Crimes ; but he distributed with an impartial Hand to every one what was his Due : so that his Justice was not extinguished by the Brightness of Clemency, whilst both of them shone in their proper Sphere thro' all his Actions. According to this we ought to understand what our Author says of him here, viz. That he punished very severely them, who were convicted of being ill and wicked Men. And indeed it cannot be supposed otherwise, if we will consider, how necessary Justice is to a Government, and how happy and flourishing the *Roman Empire* was under *Antoninus's* Conduct ; and this for the Space of no less, than twenty-three Years that he reigned. Had we now what *Dion* did write of this Emperor, or a better and larger Account of his Life, than what we read of it in *Capitolinus*, we could, I do not doubt, produce several Instances of his strict Justice in punishing Criminals ; but to our great Loss, that Part of *Dion's* History has been wanting many hundred Years ago ; and *Capitolinus* gives so short and general Account of him, that we are ignorant of the particular Actions of this great Emperor, as well as of the public Transactions of that Time. Nevertheless, by *Capitolinus's* Testimony we are assured, that he treated his Servants about him with very great Severity,

riety ; infomuch that neither they, nor his Friends did ever abuse his Authority by imposing upon People, as to make them believe, that Preferments, Places, &c. were to be gotten by the Favour, and Interest they had with him. (a)

Besides, he took so particular a Care of the Administration of Justice, that there is no room to doubt, of his punishing most severely those, who by the Nature of their Crimes rendered themselves unworthy of receiving the Benefit of his Clemency. He obliged the Intendants of the Provinces to give a strict Account of their Administration, if they had not behaved themselves with Moderation, as he had ordered them to do, in raising Taxes, &c. on the Subjects ; giving a favourable hearing to the Complaints, that were brought against them (b). He purged the Empire of that public Nuisance of Vermin, that feed on the Ruin of others. I mean the Informers, and the like (c).

He took all possible Care, that Men of the greatest Justice, and Probity should be intrusted with the public Administration (d). And it is

(a) Amicis suis in Imperio suo non aliter usus est, quàm privatus ; quia & ipsi nunquam de eo cum libertis suis per sumum aliquid vendiderunt, siquidem libertis suis severissimè usus est.

(b) Procuratores suos & modeste suscipere tributa jussit ; excedentes modum, rationem factorum suorum reddere præcepit ; nec unquam lætatus est lucro, quo Provincialis oppressus est. Contra Procuratores suos conquerentes libenter audivit.

(c) Quadruplatores extincti sunt.

(d) Viros æquissimos ad administrandam Rempublicam quærens. *Eutrop.* Quantum ejus fieri poterat, viros æquitati maxime studiosos Republicæ administrationi præficiebat. *Dion ex Suid.*

remarked,

remarked, that *Gavius Maximus*, his Captain of the Guards, continued in that Post for twenty Years, as a Man most exact, just, and impartial (*e*).

But what renders *Antoninus's* Character more noble and glorious, is the Prudence of his Conduct in the Government. A Conduct so very contrary to the Politicks of Princes, that it deserves the more Notice and Admiration. A Conduct modelled not by human Passions, but by Virtue, and the Knowledge of what is the true End of civil Society, and the Duty of a Prince. He looked upon the Sovereignty and the Subjects with a quite different Eye, than Princes and Politicians do. They may learn from his Example,

First, That it is not Power and Pomp, that make a Prince truly great; but Virtue and the Love of his People. That the Dignity and Majesty of the Crown is not abased, but rather more elevated by the Prince's Condescension in conversing, and behaving himself with his Subjects in a Manner most obliging; and not in an imperious haughty Way, as if he was absolute Master, and they his Slaves (*f*).

Secondly, That it is not impossible for a Prince to know and manage the Affairs of the Government himself. To be perfectly acquainted with

(*e*) *Gavius Maximus præfectus prætorii usque ad vicessimum annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimus. Capitol.*

(*f*) *Imperatorium fastigium ad summam civilitatem deduxit; unde plus crevit: reclamantibus aulicis ministris, qui illo nihil per internuncios agente, nec terrere poterant homines aliquando, nec ea, quæ occulta non erant, vendere. Id.*

the State and Revenues of his Dominions (g), without the Assistance of a Minister of State, or Favourites. This is what Princes are wont to reckon too great a Burden, and below the Dignity of their Condition. That is to say, they will rather indulge their Passions, than apply their Minds to public Business. Besides, it is what Courtiers can neither relish, or approve; because they do not find their Account with such a Master, who knows and does every Thing himself. It is their Interest to keep the Prince in Ignorance, plunged in Pleasures, and averse from Application; that they may have the Management of all the public Affairs. But this is what is the Duty of a Prince, what the People justly expect from him; and (which is more) what will infallibly prevent the Cause of all the common Evils in a Government, *viz.*

The Prince to be imposed upon or misled by false Representations, bad Advices, and wicked Suggestions of a Minister of State.

The Favourites and Courtiers to take Advantage of their Master's Favours to oppress the Subjects.

The Selling of Places and Preferments, or giving them to Men unfit and unworthy of them. And in short exclude all Sorts of Bribery, Extortion, and the like.

The Intriguing and Caballing of Parties, their Animosity, and the Influence they have upon the People.

The People's Dissatisfaction and Complaints, and the ill Opinion and Aversion they have for their Prince.

(g) *Rationes omnium Provinciarum apprime scivit, & vectigalium. Id.*

In few Words, a Prince by following this wise Conduct of *Antoninus* would bring all his Subjects to Peace and Union, and gain their Love and Esteem.

Thirdly, That a Prince should pay to the Senate that Deference, which is due to so noble and venerable a Body ; and to that Power they are intrusted with by the Laws of the Country ; and which himself would expect from a Prince, was he a Member of it (*b*). He should consult the Senate, and hear their Advice on whatsoever concerns the public Interest, and at the same time inform the People with the Reasons of his Resolution (*i*) ; and not keep them in the Dark, or impose upon them, and oblige them to submit to his, or his Minister's Will with an implicit Faith. It is highly reasonable and just, that a Prince should act thus with his People, it being his Duty to do so ; and it will give a great Satisfaction to the People, since they bear the Burden of the public Expences for the Support of the Government, to know all the Transactions relating to their own Interest, to speak freely their Sentiments, and make Remonstrances, when necessary, against them. This is that Happiness, which a free Government under a Prince should enjoy ; and therefore the People can never be too jealous of it, neither too watchful in preserving it against any Attempt or Design. Such a Happiness is what at present

(*b*) *Senatus tantum detulit Imperator, quantum cum privatus esset ab alio Principe optavit. Id.*

(*i*) *Omnium quæ gessit & in Senatu & per edicta rationem reddidit. Id.*

the *English* above all Nations might be proud to boast of enjoying, were they sensible of it.

Fourthly, That a Prince's Ear should be always open to hear the Grievances and Complaints of his Subjects, in order to relieve them by the most proper Remedies. To hear any Proposal offered, that tends to the public Good, and to encourage it when really so. To hear with Moderation his Friends, freely opposing his Sentiments, and to receive a good Advice with Gladness. (k) But what Sort of Men were *Antoninus's* Friends? We may judge from his Character. What must his Court have been then? Quite different, no doubt, from the modern.

Fifthly, That a Prince should be a good Manager of the public Money, so as to employ it but in what is necessary or advantageous to the Public; it being the Public's and not his own Money, and he only the Administrator of it. He therefore ought not to lavish it in superfluous Expences, or in his particular Pleasures; neither in Pensions to worthless idle Fellows. Nothing being so shameful and even cruel, according to *Antoninus's* Saying, than to let those, who contribute nothing with their Industry to the Service of the Republic, eat up its Substance. (l)

If a Prince will be liberal to his Friends, he should, as *Antoninus* was, be liberal of what is

(k) *M. Anton. de reb. suis. l. 1. §. 16. & l. 6. §. 30.* Wherein he gives the Character of this Emperor.

(l) *Salaria multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens, Nihil esse sordidius, imò crudelius quàm si Rempublicam ii arroderent, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferrent.*
Id. Capitol.

his own, and not of what is the Public's. To be liberal of what belongs to another, and by it to gain the Credit of being Liberal, is to injure the Man not only by depriving him of his own; but also of the Merit and Glory of the Action, which he has a Right to claim, as the Master of what has raised the Reputation of the Giver. *Antoninus's* Carefulness in saving the public Money went so far, as to furnish the Pay of the Soldiers out of his own Purse. Had he any particular Design in this, as some Emperors had in obliging the Army with Liberalities, &c. in order to support their Ambition thereby, and oppress the People: Had, I say, *Antoninus* such a Design, yet even then he would have acted according to common Justice, by not charging the Public with the Expence of an Army, which was to be intirely at his Service, and for their Destruction. No, *Antoninus* had no other Design in being so liberal of his own, but to save, as I have said, the public Money; inso-much that he diminished the vast Estate he had before he was Emperor, and left the *Ærarium* greatly rich. (m) In short, a Prince should govern with no other View or Interest, than to procure the public Welfare; and like a good Master of a Family, with such Care and Diligence, as if the Government was his own domestic Concern, and the Subjects as a Part of his Family. (n)

(m) Hic ante Imperium ditissimus, opes quidem suas stipendiis Militum, & circa amicos liberalitatibus minuit; verum *Ærarium* opulentum reliquit. *Eutrop. l. 8.*

(n) Tanta sanè diligentia subiectos sibi Populos rexit, ut omnia, & omnes quasi sua essent, curaret. *Id. Capitol. Quæ (the public Business) incredibili diligentia ad speciem optimi Patrisfamilias exsequebatur. Aurel. Vict. in Epit.*

Can

Can we form a better, and greater Idea of a Prince, and his Governing? How happy and flourishing then must have been the Condition of the *Roman* Provinces, and the whole Empire? What the Love and Veneration of the People for their Master?

It was his most just and prudent Way of governing, that made *Antoninus*, tho' a very peaceful Prince, to be so respected, loved, and feared at same the Time by foreign Nations, that no Emperor had ever such an Authority among them. (o) *Antoninus* gave Law to them, appointed Princes to be their Governors, and was the Arbitrator of their Disputes. This is a convincing Proof, that the Reputation of a Prince's governing his Subjects with Wisdom and Justice is more powerful, than a Number of Forces, to prevent the neighbouring Princes from disturbing the Peace of his Dominion; and consequently that nothing exposes more a Nation to be affronted, and insulted by neighbouring Powers, than the ill Opinion of its Government, and Ability of its Ministers. Foreign Princes will on any Occasion take from it what Advantage they can, and either by Force, or Artifices bring that Nation to comply with their own Measures.

(o) *Tantum sanè authoritatis apud exteras gentes nemo habuit, cum semper amaverit pacem, &c. Id. Capitol. Quamvis eum Numæ contulerit ætas sua, cum orbem Terræ nullo bello per annos viginti tres auctoritate sola rexit, adeo trementibus eum atque amantibus cunctis Regibus, Nationibusque, & Populis, ut Parentem seu Patronum magis quàm Dominum Imperatoremve reputarent; omnesque uno in cœlestium morem propitium optantes, de controversiis inter se Judicem poscerent. Aurel. Vict. l. c. Eutrop. l. 8. & Capitol. in ejus Vita.*

Indeed *Antoninus's* Politics were so much above the common Rules of governing, as his Character was above that of other Princes, that is to say, unparallel'd ; (p) yet it might serve for a Pattern to be imitated in some Measure at least ; was it not, that the prevailing Politics of the Age has so corrupted the true Notions of governing, that any other (how much the more *Antoninus's* !) is despised, and received with a Horse-laugh among Ministers of State and Courtiers ; in the like Manner, that the Stoic Moral Philosophy was among the ignorant vicious *Romans* in *Persius's* Time : whose Verses, (q) allowing some Alteration, may be well applied to the present Case.

*Dixeris hæc inter Proceres, aulæque Ministros,
Continuo crassum ridens Vulpennius ingens,
Centum Antoninos curto centusse licetur.*

(p) Tantæ bonitatis in Principatu fuit, ut haud dubie sine exemplo vixerit. *Aurel. Viâ. in Epitom.* Hunc ferè nulla vitiorum labes maculavit. *Aurel. Viâ.*

(q) *Satyr. V. in fine.*

F I N I S.

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